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Committee on Un-American Activities
House
86th Congress

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JULY 1959

(The Record Of Certain Artists And An Appraisal Of Their Works
Selected For Display)

HEARINGS
BEFORE THE
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

EIGHTY-SIXTH CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

JULY 1, 1959

Printed for the use of the Committee on Un-American Activities
(INCLUDING INDEX)

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COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES
UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

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AUGUST E. JOHANSEN, Michigan

RICHARD ARENS, *Staff Director*

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PUBLIC LAW 601, 79TH CONGRESS

The legislation under which the House Committee on Un-American Activities operates is Public Law 601, 79th Congress [1946], chapter 753, 2d session, which provides:

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, * * **

PART 2—RULES OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

RULE X

SEC. 121. STANDING COMMITTEES

* * * * *
18. Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine Members.

RULE XI

POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

* * * * *
(q) (1) Committee on Un-American Activities.
(A) Un-American activities.

(2) The Committee on Un-American Activities, as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make from time to time investigations of (i) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (ii) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (iii) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

The Committee on Un-American Activities shall report to the House (or to the Clerk of the House if the House is not in session) the results of any such investigation, together with such recommendations as it deems advisable.

For the purpose of any such investigation, the Committee on Un-American Activities, or any subcommittee thereof, is authorized to sit and act at such times and places within the United States, whether or not the House is sitting, has recessed, or has adjourned, to hold such hearings, to require the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, and documents, and to take such testimony, as it deems necessary. Subpenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee or any subcommittee, or by any member designated by any such chairman, and may be served by any person designated by any such chairman or member.

* * * * *

RULE XII

LEGISLATIVE OVERSIGHT BY STANDING COMMITTEES

SEC. 136. To assist the Congress in appraising the administration of the laws and in developing such amendments or related legislation as it may deem necessary, each standing committee of the Senate and the House of Representatives shall exercise continuous watchfulness of the execution by the administrative agencies concerned of any laws, the subject matter of which is within the jurisdiction of such committee; and, for that purpose, shall study all pertinent reports and data submitted to the Congress by the agencies in the executive branch of the Government.

RULES ADOPTED BY THE 86TH CONGRESS

House Resolution 7, January 7, 1959

* * * * *

RULE X

STANDING COMMITTEES

1. There shall be elected by the House, at the commencement of each Congress,

* * * * *

(q) Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine Members.

* * * * *

RULE XI

POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

* * * * *

18. Committee on Un-American Activities.

(a) Un-American activities.

(b) The Committee on Un-American Activities, as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make from time to time investigations of (1) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (2) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (3) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

The Committee on Un-American Activities shall report to the House (or to the Clerk of the House if the House is not in session) the results of any such investigation, together with such recommendations as it deems advisable.

For the purpose of any such investigation, the Committee on Un-American Activities, or any subcommittee thereof, is authorized to sit and act at such times and places within the United States, whether or not the House is sitting, has recessed, or has adjourned, to hold such hearings, to require the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, and documents, and to take such testimony, as it deems necessary. Subpenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee or any subcommittee, or by any member designated by any such chairman, and may be served by any person designated by any such chairman or member.

* * * * *

26. To assist the House in appraising the administration of the laws and in developing such amendments or related legislation as it may deem necessary, each standing committee of the House shall exercise continuous watchfulness of the execution by the administrative agencies concerned of any laws, the subject matter of which is within the jurisdiction of such committee; and, for that purpose, shall study all pertinent reports and data submitted to the House by the agencies in the executive branch of the Government.

THE AMERICAN NATIONAL EXHIBITION, MOSCOW, JULY 1959

(The Record Of Certain Artists And An Appraisal Of Their Works
Selected For Display)

SYNOPSIS

In addressing the House of Representatives on June 3, 1959, Congressman Francis E. Walter, chairman of the Committee on Un-American Activities stated:

Mr. Speaker, on Sunday, May 31, the U.S. Information Agency announced that 69 paintings and works of sculpture had been selected for showing at the American National Exhibition in Moscow this summer. The art collection has already been crated and was scheduled to be shipped to the Soviet Union on the steamship *Finnsailer*, which I understand is now on the high seas.

The 6-week American National Exhibition at which these works will be shown will be opened in Moscow's Sokolniki Park on July 25 by Vice President Nixon. It is billed by the USIA as containing "cultural, scientific, and technological exhibits designed to further Soviet understanding of life in America."

Of the 69 artists whose works have been chosen for exhibition in Moscow, 34—a fraction less than 50 percent—have records of affiliation with Communist fronts and causes. Of these 34 there are 12 whose records appear to be relatively inconsequential, because they involve connections with only one or two Communist fronts or causes, and include no affiliation for a period of 10 years or more.

This leaves 22, or one-third of the 69 artists, with significant records of affiliation with the Communist movement in this country. The routine check against the files of the House Committee on Un-American Activities indicates that these 22 artists have a minimum of 465 connections with Communist fronts and causes.

In his address Congressman Walter set forth details of the service to the Communist movement by many of these artists and pointed out the manner in which their perverted so-called art works had already been used by Communist publications to further the cause of communism.

In the instant hearings, Mr. Wheeler Williams, president of the American Artists Professional League, Inc., which is the largest organization of professional artists in the country, testified on the use of art as a weapon by Communists and gave an authoritative

appraisal of certain of the art works selected for display at the American National Exhibition in Moscow.

With respect to the reason for Communist subversion of art, Mr. Williams stated:

They want to destroy all phases of our culture; and if they can destroy our faith in God and our faith in the beauty and wonders of our cultural heritage, including the arts and literature and music and so forth, they can take us over without a hydrogen bomb. They can take us over with popguns.

Commenting on Communist successes in subverting the arts, Mr. Williams stated:

* * * I would say they have been successful beyond their wildest possible hopes.

In regard to the works selected for display at the American National Exhibition in Moscow, Mr. Williams testified:

I think the Soviet Union will be so delighted over this exhibition that they will not raise any question. This proves to them—and their hierarchy certainly knows much better than this committee does how many Communist affiliations or actual Communist memberships are represented—that this is a triumph on their part.

Based upon his extensive background and experience, Mr. Williams characterized a number of the works selected for display as “meaningless patterns,” “scribbles,” “doodles” and, “crudely drawn.” He summarized his judgment of the art works selected for the exhibition as follows:

It includes a number of “social protest” paintings of no aesthetic or artistic importance; at least one revolting satirical lampoon; a heavy load of meaningless doodles in paint and bronze; and a few traditional works, only one or two of which have any outstanding merit. If it is judged on merit alone, it is a dismal and dreary potpourri.

It fails utterly to give “a true image of America” as it contains next to nothing to show the wondrous natural beauty with which God has endowed our beloved lands, to portray its glorious history, its heroes or its valiant people of varied races, and nothing to picture the wondrous architecture of our cities or charm and beauty of our villages and towns.

Frank C. Wright, Jr., specialist in psychological warfare who has been connected with the American Artists Professional League, Inc., and a member of the national board of directors, testified respecting “conquest by corrosion” in which the Communists use art as a weapon. Commenting on the Soviet cultural and scientific exhibition in New York City, Mr. Wright stated:

They are giving the American people the false image of what the Soviet Union is like. When I was in psychological warfare we published a really authoritative report on slavery behind the Iron Curtain. It was, I think, the most authoritative publication on what goes on in the forced labor camps

in the Iron Curtain countries. It has maps and statistics and is widely accepted. This is not being told to the people now. In fact, it is being denied specifically.

The story is being leaked out very carefully that these slave camps have been abolished. The Warsaw charter for labor proclaims the rights of labor outside the Curtain, but each one of the rights of labor has been specifically denied to the labor inside the Curtain. This is what I mean by presenting a false image. This is done with proclamations and words, but it is also done with communications of all kinds, and images, including art.

Mr. Ben Shahn, an artist whose work was selected for display at the American National Exhibition in Moscow, appeared in response to a subpoena. Mr. Shahn refused to answer whether he had ever been a member of the Communist Party and whether he had ever contributed his art work for the purpose of raising funds for Communist enterprises, on the ground, among others, that his answers might tend to incriminate himself.

There was displayed to Mr. Shahn a series of documents pertaining to art exhibits under Communist auspices, including works of Ben Shahn and documents revealing service by Mr. Shahn in a number of Communist enterprises. In response to questions on the subject matter, however, Mr. Shahn invoked the privilege of the fifth amendment against self-incrimination.

Mr. Philip Evergood, an artist whose work was selected for display at the American National Exhibition, appeared in response to a subpoena. Mr. Evergood refused to answer whether he had ever been a member of the Communist Party or whether he was presently a member of the Communist Party, on the ground, among others, that his answers might tend to incriminate himself. He, likewise, refused to answer questions respecting his extensive service to the Communist movement in the field of art and propaganda.

THE AMERICAN NATIONAL EXHIBITION, MOSCOW, JULY 1959

(The Record Of Certain Artists And An Appraisal Of Their Works
Selected For Display)

WEDNESDAY, JULY 1, 1959

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Washington, D.C.
PUBLIC HEARINGS

A subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities, composed of Representative Francis E. Walter, as chairman, and Representatives Morgan M. Moulder and August E. Johansen, as associate members, met, pursuant to call, at 10 a.m., in the caucus room, Old House Office Building, Hon. Francis E. Walter (chairman) presiding.

Committee members present: Francis E. Walter, of Pennsylvania; Morgan M. Moulder, of Missouri; William M. Tuck, of Virginia; William E. Miller, of New York; and August E. Johansen, of Michigan.

Staff members present: Richard Arens, staff director, and Francis J. McNamara, research analyst.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order,

As a background for the session today, I should like to make a few remarks and observations.

On Sunday, May 31, the United States Information Agency announced that 69 paintings and works of sculpture had been selected for showing at the American National Exhibition which will be opened by Vice President Richard M. Nixon in Moscow this summer. The exhibition at which these works will be shown, according to the United States Information Agency press announcement, is to contain "cultural, scientific, and technological exhibits designed to further Soviet understanding of life in America." The United States Information Agency press announcement concerning the art collection listed the names of the 69 artists whose works would be displayed at the exhibition. When I glanced at the list of names, I was shocked to find the names of a number of persons who were known by me, in my work as chairman of the Committee on Un-American Activities, to be either Communists or persons with extensive records of service to the Communist movement in this country. I could hardly believe that the United States Information Agency would sponsor the works of such people "to further Soviet understanding of life in America." Immediately, I requested the staff of the Committee on Un-American Activities to make a careful yet routine check of the committee files on the 69 names. This routine check, may I state, is a service which

the Committee on Un-American Activities regularly renders to any executive agency of the Government which requests it.

I might add at this point that agencies of the Government maintain people in the office of the committee continuously.

As I stated in my address in the House of Representatives on June 3, the routine check disclosed that of the 69 artists whose works have been chosen for exhibition in Moscow, 34—a fraction less than 50 percent—have records of affiliation with Communist fronts and causes. Of these 34 there are 12 whose records appear to be relatively inconsequential, because they involve connections with only one or two Communist fronts or causes, and include no affiliation for a period of 10 years or more. This leaves 22, or approximately one-third of the 69 artists, with significant records of affiliation with the Communist movement in this country. This routine check against the files of the House Committee on Un-American Activities indicates that these 22 artists have a minimum of 465 connections with Communist fronts and causes.

In my address I set forth details of the service to the Communist movement by many of these artists and pointed out the manner in which their perverted so-called art works had already been used by known Communist publications to further the cause of communism.

In response to my address, from the crossroads of this Nation I received a substantial volume of mail from Mr. and Mrs. America, who, almost without exception, registered strong protest against the makeup of the exhibition and expressed resentment that the work of Communists and Communist sympathizers should be sent to Moscow as examples of American culture.

According to the press, however, the USIA disavowed any concern over the "political views" of the artists. May I say that the letters which I have received from the rank and file of the American people did not confirm USIA's impression that communism is a "political" matter. The American people in their letters to me recognize that Communists are Communists and that communism is communism. They know, even if the USIA does not know, that communism is not a "political" matter but is a conspiracy against the free world and that a Communist, by very definition, is part and parcel of that conspiracy. The American people know also that a Communist's total commitment and allegiance is to the conspiracy.

Let me again make the record abundantly clear that this Committee on Un-American Activities is not concerned with the relative merit of the art work as such. It is, however, concerned with the activities of any person who is a Communist or who serves the Communist movement, be he an artist, an educator, a labor leader, a businessman, or of any occupation which has been penetrated by the international Communist conspiracy.

Although the USIA apparently does not consider that art may be used as a weapon to further the cause of communism, the Communists do. Let me repeat two quotations from authoritative sources within the conspiracy itself:

Addressing the 21st Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on January 27 of this year, Nikita Khrushchev made the following statement:

It is the duty of * * * sculptors and painters to raise still higher the content and artistic level of their work, to con-

tinue as energetic assistants of the party and the state in the Communist education of the working people.

Writing in the Communist New Masses magazine in 1946—the magazine to which 16 of these artists have contributed—U.S. Communist Party Chairman William Z. Foster said:

There must be a clear understanding that art is a weapon in the class struggle. Not only is art a weapon, but a very potent one as well. Moreover, rising revolutionary social classes instinctively realize the importance of art as a social weapon and have always forged their own art and used it to challenge that of the existing ruling class.

I mentioned that Vice President Nixon will open the American National Exhibition in Moscow. I cannot believe that he would knowingly condone this exhibition in view of the following statement which he made as a Member of Congress on July 18, 1949, as quoted in *The Nation* magazine of January 10, 1953:

I realize that some very objectionable art, of a subversive nature, has been allowed to go into Federal buildings in many parts of the country * * *. At such time as we may have a change of administration and in the majority of Congress, I believe a committee of Congress should make a thorough investigation of this type of art in Government buildings with a view to obtaining removal of all that is found to be inconsistent with American ideals and principles.

The Kremlin lays great stress on its cultural and scientific exhibition which was opened this week in New York City by First Deputy Soviet Premier Frol R. Kozlov.

I must confess less enthusiasm over their exhibition than was registered by certain officials of this Government, including the President of the United States, who took leave from his duties in Washington to make a special trip to view the exhibition staged by the masters of the most deadly conspiracy against humanity the world has ever known. Although they are dripping in blood, Khrushchev and his arch-conspirators are displaying on American soil, with all the hospitality of this free Nation, an exhibition which would charm the viewer into the illusion that the Red empire of slavery and human misery is one of culture and refinement. Our exhibition to be opened in Moscow is saturated with the work of servants of the same conspiracy and will emphasize the seamy side and perverted concepts of America.

When Adolf Hitler and his gang of Nazi criminals were butchering and torturing the innocents in concentration camps in central Europe, would any official of this Government welcome on American soil an art display depicting the beauty of Nazi culture?

The Committee on Un-American Activities is pleased to receive today the testimony of representatives of the American Artists Professional League, Inc., which will be represented by Mr. Wheeler Williams, president, and by Mr. Frank C. Wright.

Will you call your first witness, Mr. Arens?

Mr. ARENS. Will Mr. Wheeler Williams kindly come forward?

Remain standing while the chairman administers an oath, please.

The CHAIRMAN. Raise your right hand, please.

Do you swear the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I do.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Williams, I was interested in a letter that you wrote to the editor of my home-town newspaper in Easton, Pa. You probably did not know it but the editor of that paper was discharged from the Navy in 1942 because he was a mental case and maybe that accounts for the type of editorial that you were disturbed about.

In addition to that, he is a contributor to Communist magazines, which, of course, explains it.

You did not know that or you would not have bothered to write him a letter.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I certainly agree with you.

TESTIMONY OF WHEELER WILLIAMS

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Williams, for the purpose of this record now, will you kindly identify yourself by full name, residence, and occupation?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Wheeler Williams, Madison, Conn.; occupation, sculptor.

Mr. ARENS. You are appearing today, Mr. Williams, as president of the American Artists Professional League, Incorporated?

Mr. WILLIAMS. That is correct.

Mr. ARENS. I expect to ask you about the League in a moment. Before I do so, I should like to inquire on this record respecting your own personal background. Give us, if you please, sir, first of all a word about your education.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I was educated in the Latin School in Chicago, Phillips Exeter Academy, Yale-Sheffield Scientific School, and then the Graduate School of Architecture at Harvard; and as art education, I studied at the Art Institute in Chicago from the time I was a child, Copley Society in Boston night school while I was at Harvard, and finally at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts in France.

Mr. ARENS. In addition to being president of the American Artists Professional League, you are a former president of the National Sculpture Society, is that correct?

Mr. WILLIAMS. That is correct.

Mr. ARENS. And you are also a past president of the Fine Arts Federation of New York, is that correct?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Correct.

Mr. ARENS. And also a past vice president of the Architectural League of New York?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Correct.

Mr. ARENS. And you have also served as a sculptor member of the Art Commission of the City of New York, is that correct?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Correct.

Mr. ARENS. You are also a member of the National Academy of Design, Allied Artists, American Veterans Society of Artists, and similar organizations?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Correct.

Mr. ARENS. Your works have been displayed, have they not, Mr. Williams, in the four corners of the earth?

Mr. WILLIAMS. That may be a slight exaggeration, but my works are owned by public institutions and private corporations and private

individuals in their collections in 44 States of this country and a good many foreign countries.

Mr. ARENS. What is the last principal architectural work which you completed?

Mr. WILLIAMS. My most recent one was my statue of Senator Robert A. Taft for the Taft Memorial here in Washington.

Mr. ARENS. Would you also give us, for this record, please, just a word about your service in the military?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Very briefly, I enlisted as a private first class cadet and was made shortly second lieutenant in the USA Balloon Corps in World War I and served finally as Commandant of Camp Wilson, which was a satellite field for the purpose of final instructions before going overseas for direction of artillery fire. That was World War I.

In World War II, I served in the Navy as officer in charge of the U.S. Navy Terrain Model School for Officers of all services.

Mr. ARENS. Have you had any special experience, in the course of your life, in studying or investigating the subject of Communist subversion?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Shortly after World War II, I was just beginning to get started again in my own profession when I was called once again to Federal grand jury duty in the Southern District of New York. It developed that that particular term was for 18 months and it was a special grand jury solely for subversive investigation.

Mr. ARENS. Now, Mr. Williams, kindly give us just a word about the American Artists Professional League, of which you are president and which you are representing in this proceeding today.

Mr. WILLIAMS. The American Artists Professional League is, I believe I can safely say, the largest art organization of professional artists in this country. We have memberships and chapters across the land of somewhere around 2,000 members and it was founded 28 years ago, not so much as an exhibition society but as an educational organization and also to work for the best interests of the professions throughout the land. I think it has done a great deal of good in many ways. It originated and has fostered and sponsored over the years American Art Week, which is annually proclaimed by the President and which this last year, on a check we made, seemed to have reached a total audience of some 36 million people.

Mr. ARENS. Just a word, please, about the position of the American Artists Professional League through the years on the subject of communism.

Mr. WILLIAMS. We have been adamantly anti-Communist.

Mr. ARENS. Now, sir, when was your attention first directed to, or when did you first become aware of, the situation, which we shall subsequently discuss, with reference to the American National Exhibition in Moscow?

Mr. WILLIAMS. The first I heard of it was when I saw the announcement of the jury and at that time I was alarmed by the jury named and wrote to the President.

Mr. ARENS. May I inquire what you mean by the jury, so that our record may be clear?

Mr. WILLIAMS. The jury of selection to select the works to exhibit the art of this country in Moscow.

Mr. ARENS. You saw the announcement of this jury in the papers and you say you dispatched a letter to the President, is that correct?

Mr. WILLIAMS. That I did.

Mr. ARENS. Could you give us the essence of the letter at this time, the date of the letter, and then submit the letter for incorporation in the record, please, sir?

Mr. WILLIAMS. The letter is relatively brief. I can read a certain portion of it.

Mr. ARENS. And give the date, please, sir.

Mr. WILLIAMS. The date of the letter was March 10, 1959, immediately after the publication of the jury.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Williams, this was before the art, so called, was selected?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Before the art was selected, yes, sir.

(Reading from copy of letter):

The American Artists Professional League, Inc., which has the largest membership of any art society in the United States, is gravely concerned by the choice of the jury to select the paintings and sculpture which will represent American Art in Moscow in July.

The history of American Art Exhibitions in Europe, from the show recalled by the State Department to the debacle of the Brussels Fair, has reflected little honor on our country. Nor can we expect that work selected by a jury such as has been announced will prove any exception to this rule.

The conservative artists of the world have had their fill of museum directors, critics, and so-called art experts.

No one would expect the manager of a hospital to tell the surgeons how to operate; nor would he be considered qualified to judge between doctors on their merits as technicians.

Many people doubt the advantages of any cultural exchange with Russia, but at least we must be sure that any work sent over there will be of a high quality, and cannot be used as proof of the decadence existing under a capitalistic system.

Mr. ARENS. Now, Mr. Williams, when was the next time your attention was directed in any consequential manner to the American National Exhibition in Moscow?

Mr. WILLIAMS. The next I knew of it was when I heard, or saw in the papers the speech by your chairman, Congressman Walter, which brought out the horrible proportion—and thank goodness, very unfair proportion—chosen of people with Communist affiliations.

The professions are not that badly infiltrated.

May I say that naturally I wrote immediately to congratulate Congressman Walter on his alertness and courage in bringing this matter to the public's attention.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not know how alert I was, Mr. Williams, but I do not think I ever got over the shock that I received at Brussels when I saw the photograph of the Capitol of the United States. This was a large, beautiful photograph blown up of the most beautiful capitol in the world and for all of the people in the world to see. Unfortunately, it was taken down here in one of the most squalid slum areas in America and showed half-clothed children sitting in mud and what have you, all these horrible slums that have long since been cleared and, off in the background, was this beautiful Capitol.

Now, you cannot tell me that somebody did not select that photograph on purpose.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I am sure they did.

(At this point, Mr. Tuck entered the hearing room.)

The CHAIRMAN. That is what I mean when I say I was so shocked that the moment I saw what was happening I was sure that the same people had their finger in both of these exhibitions.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Mr. Chairman, before counsel proceeds, I do not want to anticipate counsel's questioning and I certainly do not want to violate the amenities, but was there any acknowledgment ever received with respect to your letter to the President of the United States?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I am afraid it never reached him. I have the highest regard for the President. He has written me personal letters. To this one I received no reply.¹

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Williams, you expressed your grave concern after you had read the speech, or on account of the speech, by the chairman of this committee on the Communist background and service to the Communist movement of a number of these artists whose works are being sent to Moscow. Based upon your background and experience in the art movement of this country, were you surprised?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Frankly, considering the jury, I was not surprised.

Mr. ARENS. Have you had, on the basis of your background and experience, similar experiences in the past in the use by the Government of the United States of so-called art works of American artists?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, I am going to come to that a little later, if I may, in connection with Government exhibitions abroad and so forth.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Williams, may I ask you who selected this jury?

Mr. WILLIAMS. That I would say is a very key question. I believe that we now know that the USIA had a committee of 11 citizens and the State Department apparently has a standing committee of 11 citizens to advise on the arts and they, in turn, selected 6 people to select the jury and these 6 people selected the jury. And one of those who was selected for the jury, Aline Loucheim, could not serve and then there was a substitution made.

Mr. ARENS. Can you give us a summary of similar experiences?

Mr. WILLIAMS. May I say, speaking of Aline Loucheim, I do not think she would have been of help. She has been an alleged art critic, upholding some things I do not like about art, some phases of modern art.

Mr. ARENS. Would you speak on some similar experiences in the past?

Mr. WILLIAMS. May I digress for a moment and ask to have inserted in the record the policy of the American Artists Professional League, as described in this pamphlet called "War Cry"?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

¹ The witness has since asked it be noted that, speaking from the best of his recollection, he was in error. A courteous acknowledgment had been received, had doubtless been called to his attention, but was in the files of the corresponding secretary of the League. The date of the reply from the White House was March 26 to his letter of March 10 1959

(The information referred to follows:)

THE AMERICAN ARTISTS PROFESSIONAL LEAGUE INC.

National Headquarters: 15 Gramercy Park, New York 3, N.Y.

WAR CRY

We believe that the time has come for American Artists who hold fast to the time-honored tenets of beauty, craftsmanship and integrity to assert their faith in the cause. We believe that the time has come for all serious artists of our time who hold fast to the canons of art with relation to rhythm, proportion, composition, form and color, which have endured for centuries, to crusade for these verities in the art of America today.

For too long a time, and with our habitual American tolerance, we have stood aside and let the sensationalists and revolutionaries take the center of the stage. We have tolerated, without protest, the initiators of the decadent isms which were spawned abroad some decades ago. We have permitted, without public protest, this debauching of all that is noble in art. So long have we tolerated this intrusion that it has now gained a disproportionate place in the American art scene.

At first we ignored these sensationalists as harmless; now they have infiltrated our large exhibitions, our art juries, our art societies and our art museums. They now dominate art courses in many of our colleges and art schools. Art journals and art news editors have bowed to the call of their weird incantations until the beauty-loving public, mystified by their madness, has about decided that, if this is art, it wants no more art.

If our artists who thrill at the wonders of God's creation and who aspire to share their inspiration with others through their art, wish to regain the esteem and appreciation of the public, they must now, with strong resolution, go into aggressive action. And they must work fast if a generation or more of potential talent is not to be smothered for lack of proper instruction.

The American Artists Professional League, with its some 2000 members across the land, stands ready to do its part. Under the vigorous chairmanship of Wheeler Williams, N.A., the Program Committee offers a 6-Point program.

(1) We must demand that newspapers and magazines carrying art news supplement their staffs with at least one critic sympathetic to Modern Classicists. Rifts must be made in what has aptly been called the Paper Curtain that prevents the public from knowing that many fine modern artists are still doing work they will welcome and understand.

(2) We must demand that large art exhibitions, national, regional and local, have separate juries and separate exhibition areas for Modern Classicists. We are entitled to juries of our peers and to have our works shown in conjunction with works of similar motivation.

(3) We must demand that all medals, awards, fellowships or grants given or endowed by patrons or benefactors—who are known to have been motivated by appreciation for man's heritage of Classic art and interest in fostering Classic art—be awarded only by juries of the Classic Schools of Modern Art. (Let the adherents of the Cult of the Isms endow their own and not poach upon the generosity of others living and dead who do not or did not share their extreme tastes.)

(4) We must continue our battle to see that art is not socialized under political bureaucracy.

(5) We must do everything in our power to see that, once again, teachers who believe in our great heritage of art, know how to teach the fundamentals, and who can, by encouragement and constructive criticism, help the aspiring to develop his individual talents, are selected to man the Art Departments of our grade and high schools, our colleges and our professional schools of art.

(6) While in large measure this fad for the isms of modern art is only a manifestation of our troubled times and its exponents and proponents are both loyal and sincere, we can no longer overlook the important element of Communist involvement, aware by their own statements that they regard art as a weapon of revolution. The Key? It is obvious that they promote the isms to destroy standards and traditions just as they employ "social realism" to stir resentment and employ the few fine artists caught at one time or another in their net * * * to open doors to art associations and the purse strings of fellowship and scholarship funds to the benefit of their adherents.

Therefore, it is also incumbent on us to alert authorities where known and unrepentant party-liners are assigned as teachers, jury members or invited as exhibitors.

Equally, when patriotic civic groups take similar action, we should rally to their support.

Mr. WILLIAMS. May I ask you to repeat your question?

Mr. ARENS. Yes, sir. What has been the basis of your background and experience in the art movement of this country and, as one of the leading artists of this Nation, what has been your experience in similar programs of the Government of the United States promoting art abroad?

Mr. WILLIAMS. May I start at home?

Mr. ARENS. If you please, sir.

Mr. WILLIAMS. The Government became properly interested in the problems of the artist during the depression and at that time—with the best intention, I am sure, in the world—they founded the WPA for arts. I could go on at length as to its sorry picture, particularly in the New York area where I think it was very definitely admitted to be Communist-controlled by the end. I think we are all aware of the number of U.S. Post Office murals that were painted showing the seamy side, the tragic side, which exists here in America as it exists in every country. There are always some slums and tragic conditions.

It was not a very happy result for all the WPA effort made for the artists.

Then they had the Section of Fine Arts at the same time, and I can assure you that, when that was first started, the members of the Sculpture Society thought this was a wonderful thing, and by the grand phraseology with which it started it sounded fine.

At the end of one year, I was asked to run a questionnaire to see what the sculptors thought of it.

The answer was it was terrible; that the Section of Fine Arts had turned things upside down and were running the thing in very curious fashion; and all you have to do is to go to our own Justice Department building and go up the staircase and you will find plenty of examples of things right here that are of the kind that, probably, Vice President Nixon was speaking of in the quotation made earlier.

Also, here at home at the World's Fair, the Section of Fine Arts moved in, begged, and pleaded, and finally the appointed commissioner let them take over the selection of sculpture and art work for the U.S. Building at the World's Fair.

I would just cite two things.

One is that, later, the commissioner told me that he had heard and actually seen a certain amount of dirty politics in ward politics in the City of New York, but he had never seen anything worse than the handling of allegedly fair juries by the section. Also there was a statue of Lincoln put up there that the public disliked so much that they had to take it down, their selections were so bad.

Still here in this country, a Government agency also fostered an exhibition in the veterans' hospitals, and I would refer you to Congressman George A. Dondero and his speech on that, which covers it very thoroughly.

At this moment I would like to say how many of the American artists, and the American Artists Professional League, in toto, I am sure, honor Congressman Dondero.

After all, he single-handedly did a job of alerting the public to what has been and is going on, and continues to go on, in the field of fine arts in this country.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Mr. Chairman, at that point I would like, as a member of this committee, to express appreciation for that tribute to our former colleague, whom all of us respect very highly.

Mr. ARENS. Now, would you recount experiences which the Government has had in the past with similar exhibits abroad?

Mr. WILLIAMS. While I am talking about Congressman Dondero, I want to say it is a great tribute to his faithfulness to his duty and, wishing to be fair, to his faithfulness in all the investigations that he handled and the documents that he had to handle, that no one has ever successfully challenged any citation of Communist affiliation he made on a lot of people.

I have heard him called, from platforms, a liar and so forth. I have heard the most derogatory statements made about him, but it is significant to me that not a single artist who was cited as having belonged to the Communist Party or fronts by Congressman Dondero has ever availed himself of the privilege of coming before your committee, Mr. Congressman, and, asking to be sworn, stated under oath that he did not belong to the party or to such front or fronts as were cited.

I hear, again and again, people saying, "after all, it is criminal the way they attack people without proof and the poor man cannot say anything about it. How can he clear himself?"

The answer is very clear. Am I right, sir? He can come before this committee, and you will give him a chance to be sworn and testify if he so chooses.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course.

(At this point, Mr. Miller entered the hearing room.)

Mr. ARENS. Would you give similar experiences abroad?

Mr. WILLIAMS. We are all aware of the fiasco of the 1955-56 traveling show which was recalled by the State Department and quite rightly. I was looking at the catalogue of that only yesterday, and it is interesting to note the duplication of so many names in that exhibition and in the present choice to be shown in Moscow.

Mr. ARENS. Are there other similar experiences?

Mr. WILLIAMS. It puzzles me that we have no other artists. Must we always show these same ones? It looks very much as if it is a panel of people selecting a select chosen few.

Mr. ARENS. Are there other similar experiences?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes. Of course, we went on from that exhibit to the "Sports in Art" show.

The CHAIRMAN. Before you go into that, I think it is pretty generally admitted that some of this art reflects on Americans. One of the people in USIA, I think it was, said that it is admitted that this one painting depicts an American general as being whatever it is, but the purpose of that is to let the Communists know that in America we can criticize.

Well, with many years of experience in and out of the services, I have yet to see as dissolute a looking figure as the person portrayed in this painting.

I just could not imagine anybody wearing a uniform, either as an apprentice seaman or a general or an admiral, looking like the figure in this painting. Certainly there was nothing connected with it to

indicate the purpose; and it seems to me that, in view of the fact that the artist is a Communist, he was trying to portray by that painting his feeling of hatred toward our military.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I think statements he has made indicate that that is true.

Also it is not a work of art. It is a satirical cartoon.

The CHAIRMAN. That is right. It is a satirical cartoon.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Which does not belong in an art exhibition.

Mr. ARENS. I do not want to consume too much of the record on the specifics of similar experiences except to elicit from you whether or not the experience of the Government in this field has been about the same.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I think it is important because we have been unfortunate in having similar mistakes made by well-intentioned people in the Government.

I am sure they are well intentioned, but I think they are playing in a field they do not understand. I think they should learn.

"Sports in Art" was an exhibition they were going to send to the Olympics. It was shown in the Dallas Museum; and the good citizens of Dallas, with the Dallas County Patriotic League and the American Legion and the American Artists Professional League Chapter down there, made so great an outcry that it was not sent.

Then we all know the disgracefully bad show sent to Brussels last year, which Congressman Walter just mentioned.

The CHAIRMAN. In that connection, they had a huge photograph of a football game, and it was almost impossible to determine what it was because it had been cut in sections and was set up at different angles. Finally, after much maneuvering around, I discovered that this was a picture of a halfback going off tackle. This I was able to determine because I know something about football.

I am just wondering how many peasants from the area around there that had never seen a football game could tell what it was.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I think we should be proud of the record of our Government in having canceled and called back so many of their bleeps.

Mr. ARENS. How many have they called back?

Mr. WILLIAMS. They called back the traveling exhibition I mentioned. They canceled the one in Dallas, and I believe there is one other that they have called back.

In addition to that, I think we ought to take a little cheer from the fact that we are not the only country that makes bleeps about art. They may make it in a different way.

In 1937, when I was in Paris, I went to the Russian Building there, and in it they had a mural some 40 or 50 feet long, an enormous mural of the May Day Parade, and I must say it was pretty well painted.

While I was standing there, a man put up a ladder and proceeded to paint out the face of one of the men standing next to Stalin. That intrigued me so I went back the next day. The man had a new face, but another face was being painted out. So it became my hobby to go every day and see what the score was. I did not stay all summer, but I believe by the end of the summer practically everybody in the line had been painted to be somebody else. That was, of course, the summer of the purge. They did it right in public daily.

The CHAIRMAN. That reminds me that one of the Justices of the Supreme Court, in discussing the Supreme Court's decisions, said they were like an excursion ticket, good for one day only.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Williams, I expect to interrogate you on some of the specific art presentations which are now en route to Moscow, a dozen or so in particular on which we want to elicit your comments.

Before doing so, I should like to inquire of you now, is art susceptible to use as a weapon by the Communists?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I think there is no question about that.

Mr. ARENS. Would you please elaborate on that and give us the basis for your conclusion?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, sir, they say it is themselves. The Congressman has already quoted Foster, the head of the Communist Party in this country, stating that art is a weapon and a very important weapon. I have considerable difficulty in trying to persuade many of my business friends that they consider it as an important weapon. It seems to me quite obvious that the first thing they want to do to any country outside of the Iron Curtain, and particularly ours, is to destroy our faith in God, our religions.

Mr. ARENS. How do they do it by art? How do they use art as a weapon?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, why they want to destroy art is equally important or second almost to religion. They want to destroy all phases of our culture; and if they can destroy our faith in God and our faith in the beauty and wonders of our cultural heritage, including the arts and literature and music and so forth, they can take us over without a hydrogen bomb. They can take us over with popguns.

Mr. ARENS. How do they use art as a furtherance of the objectives of communism to destroy the United States as its principal target?

Mr. WILLIAMS. We must remember that the policy of the Soviet Government on art is "Socialist Realism." Now, "Socialist Realism" is the credo in their own land, but that is "Socialist Realism" used as a tool of uplift, used to commemorate great events, things we can understand. It is a propaganda tool, shall we say, and is perfectly natural and normal and can be a fine one as it is here.

Take Howard Chandler Christie, my late great pal, and his wonderful painting of the signing of the Declaration of Independence. That is a fine use of art. But that kind they are constantly disavowing for other kinds of strange forms of art outside the Iron Curtain. They very definitely state that they use Communist protest realism for destructive purposes.

That is their first weapon, "social protest" realism, and we will see some examples of that in the work which is planned to be shown in Moscow.

Mr. ARENS. We will get into the specifics in a few moments with these exhibits.

Mr. WILLIAMS. It is in that connection that the New Masses has had any number of pictures of satirical protest and so forth, such as the painting mentioned by Congressman Walter a few moments ago. That is the type of thing that they use as social protest.

In addition to that, they aid and abet in every way the "isms," the destructive "isms." They regard those as a useful destructive force to destroy people's love and understanding of art, their love of beauty,

and their whole heritage of culture. It is significant that outside of Russia, the leader of all leaders of the "isms" is Picasso for them, and Picasso has stated: "Art is not to decorate apartments. Art is a weapon of revolution, and my art is revolutionary art." Yet, Pablo Picasso has been featured in almost every magazine in this country with rave articles this last year by some strange arrangement.

Incidentally, may I, as an artist, say that I regard him as a trivial artist who, even in his earlier blue-and-pink period, showed only mild talent.

It is also significant that all, or almost all, of the leaders, the heroes of the "ism" movements, the top heroes have been Communists.

It is also significant that they used in Russia all the "isms" as weapons of revolution, up through the Revolution and until 1922. It was only when they had solidified their power that they ruled these out, and Kandinsky and others went back to Germany and elsewhere outside the Iron Curtain to create further unrest in the arts.

Wassily Kandinsky was the Russian who invented the idea of non-objective art. What they call abstract art, although that is a misuse of a word.

Mr. ARENS. Now, Mr. Williams, have you had occasion to observe both the exhibits which are en route to Moscow representing the United States in our proposed exhibit and the reproductions, at least, of the exhibits by the Communists which are presently on display in New York City?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I have, sir, but could we pause a moment on that?

Mr. ARENS. All right, sir.

Mr. WILLIAMS. There are some exhibits that I have here to indicate a little bit about the Communist use of art as a weapon.

Mr. ARENS. Proceed on that theme if you please, sir.

Mr. WILLIAMS. One thing is that right here in our own country we have a very fine painter, John Garth, out on the Pacific Coast, who is also a fine writer, who wrote for many years for the Argonaut magazine out there. Fortunately, he was already alert in the twenties. He wrote in the Argonaut (1955-56):

I attended one of their first meetings here in San Francisco, where the whole conspiracy was laid down in detail to affect not only painting and sculpture but every other aspect of our aesthetic and spiritual life. The art museum personnel, the school art faculties, the art schools themselves; the more influential art critics were the first targets selected for either conversion or gradual liquidation to make way for the installation of fellow travelers.

From my experience I would say they have been successful beyond their wildest possible hopes.

Mr. ARENS. Now, sir, are you ready to proceed on the theme which I proposed a while ago, namely, your appraisal of the pictures which are presently being displayed in New York City by the Communists?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I have, sir, some other things that I would like to bring into the documents, quotations and so forth.

Mr. ARENS. All right, sir. Proceed.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Considering the use of art as a weapon, I think it is interesting to note that Khrushchev, in a speech before the 21st Congress, Communist Party, Soviet Union, said:

It is the duty of * * * sculptors and painters to raise still higher the content and artistic level of their work, to continue as energetic assistants of the party and the state in the Communist education of the working people.

That is in Russia.

The Congressman has already quoted William Foster.

V. J. Jerome, in his speech, "Grasp the Weapon of Culture," at the Fifteenth National Convention of the Communist Party, USA, held in December 1950, states:

A novelist who fights with his voice and not his pen, an artist who gives his name to the fight but not his brush * * * fights with one hand, and with the other objectively aids the enemy * * *

Cultural activity is an essential phase of the Party's general ideological work, and as such is interconnected with the Party's struggles in the economic and political spheres * * *

The situation demands from our creative forces novels and plays, poems, paintings, musical compositions, popular songs, and criticism, vibrant with the Party spirit, the very essence of Socialist Realism * * *

In Culture and Life, November 21, 1958, the identification of Soviet authors with actual "Socialist Realism" called for the usual list of qualities which must be attributed to Soviet man. There are quotations in it.

Mr. ARENS. Now, Mr. Williams, let us proceed if you please, to the query with respect to your appraisal of the art work which is being displayed in New York City by the Communists.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Very good, sir.

Mr. ARENS. What is your general characterization of the impact upon the mind which would normally follow from the art work which is being displayed in New York City by the Communists?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I would say that it would make a very fine impression, unfortunately, on our public.

Mr. ARENS. Why?

Mr. WILLIAMS. They have selected artists of talent. I am amazed, considering the number of good artists whom they killed and exiled leaving practically nobody of talent, that they have been able to develop artists with so much good classic background. By and large these are very fine pictures. I think they are things that our public will like and enjoy.

Mr. ARENS. What impression will a viewer receive from the standpoint of his normal reaction to this Soviet art work?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I think they would say, "Russia can't be so bad. It must be pretty good. Look at that. They seem to have a lot of love of beauty. Their countryside is wonderful. The sailing looks good."

Mr. ARENS. Is there anything in their art work to suggest the slave labor camps?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Not a bit.

Mr. ARENS. Is there anything to suggest the tyranny of the Red empire?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No. Of course, we have here only eight examples, but I think that is a consistent pattern of the type work they are showing.

Mr. ARENS. Is there anything in their art work to suggest the loss of freedom?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, there is not.

Mr. ARENS. Now, may I invite your attention first of all in general, and we will become specific in a moment, to the exhibits which are being sent by the United States to our national exhibition to be opened in Moscow this summer. Do you have your set there?

Mr. WILLIAMS. May I say, Mr. Chairman, that I think we are indebted to the New York Times Magazine Section, and I think the public is, for printing this. I think it will show them how right the Congressman was to alert the public to what was going on.

This, even though it is a selection of the less terrible of the paintings selected by this peculiar jury, is certainly not a very gratifying representation; and I, as a sculptor, can assure you that it is a shocking representation of my field of the arts.

The CHAIRMAN. I saw a sketch of one of the paintings. It was a wide, white strip with, across the top of it, a little strip of gold. The title of the painting was "Old Gold Over White." Now, in view of the fact that this exhibition is to further Soviet understanding of life in America, I am curious to know what phase of American life this would show the Russians.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I don't think those things have any meaning whatsoever except to confuse.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you see this?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I haven't come to that one.

The CHAIRMAN. This is the kind of thing my grandson did when I gave him his first paints.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Williams, would you first of all give us your overall judgment respecting the art exhibit which is being sent by this country abroad?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Remember, I have not seen it. The only people who have seen it, apparently, are the jury.

Mr. ARENS. You have seen the reproductions?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I have seen the reproductions of it and, of course, it is a little unfair to judge by reproductions alone, but I think enough of them are bad enough that one does not have to worry very much.

Mr. MOULDER. May I ask a question?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. MOULDER. Does the Government of the Soviet Union have any approval or disapproval of the exhibits being sent over there by the American National Exhibition? Do they have any control or any opportunity or do they exercise approval or disapproval and say, "You cannot exhibit this or that"? After the selections are made here and go over there, what does the Soviet Union do?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I think the Soviet Union will be so delighted over this exhibition that they will not raise any question. This proves to them—and their hierarchy certainly knows much better than this committee does how many Communist affiliations or actual Com-

munist memberships are represented—that this is a triumph on their part. They will be perfectly certain that they have taken over American art.

May I assure you gentlemen that our arts may have been in danger of being taken over but they have not been taken and, so help us God, they won't be.

Mr. ARENS. What is the position of the American Artists Professional League with reference to this Moscow exhibit proposed to be put on by the United States Information Agency?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Our position is that it must be recalled; that the State Department has, or the USIA has, unfortunately made another mistake; and the only honorable thing to do, in justice to the American people, is to recall the show.

A very splendid suggestion has been made by a distinguished friend of mine, Robert L. Buell, a retired consul general, which met with considerable interest by the State Department. They apparently think it is too late. They have taken some ideas from it. He suggested they recall it and immediately send over an exhibition showing the great panorama of culture and art that we have in this country. Our historical record proves it. We are not a new country of aborigines. We are a country with a long established culture.

He suggested we start with pictures by Copley and Stuart and go on through to Winslow Homer and other later painters, show the Hudson River School, show the Remingtons and Russells and the others who have painted our great West, those things the Russian people themselves would like, understand, and enjoy.

Mr. JOHANSEN. May I ask at this point. Do I understand that this has been an official recommendation of the American Artists Professional League?

Mr. WILLIAMS. We have just been alerted to this. I am sure I can say that we would approve.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Has there been any such recommendation made in the name of the League or of any other artist group to the State Department or USIA?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I will assure you there are two members of the board here today and I think they will back me up and I can say quite confidently that the League would heartily endorse this suggestion, even if no modern work were shown, if we could show the panorama of the culture we have in this country.

Mr. ARENS. Bearing in mind your observations as to the use of art as a weapon by the Communists and bearing in mind the specific cases which were revealed by the chairman of this committee to be works of art by either Communists or persons with extensive records of service to the Communist movement, may I invite your attention to reproductions of the art exhibits which are now en route to Moscow and ask you to give some of your comments respecting several of those exhibits?

The CHAIRMAN. Is that catalog printed in Russian?

Mr. WILLIAMS. It is printed in Russian. Most of the names have been put on.

Mr. ARENS. They are printed in Russian but we have had translated into English for your edification the title and author.

Mr. WILLIAMS. The name has not been put on this one. It is a meaningless pattern. Here is a design which my wife would not accept for a linoleum for a kitchen floor. It serves no other purpose.

Here is another meaningless one.

Mr. ARENS. Do you see an art work there by Max Weber?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Are these in chronological order or not? They probably are.

Mr. ARENS. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. We experienced great difficulty in getting that. Actually, USIA sent this up and when somebody started to give it to me, they locked it up in the briefcase and walked off with it so that you cannot blame us for not having it translated.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Most of these things are hopelessly meaningless. Here is "Old Gold Over White." It doesn't show the color, but I don't think it makes a great deal of difference whether it does or not.

Mr. ARENS. Do you see there an art work presented by William Zorach entitled, "Victory"?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I do.

Mr. ARENS. What is your observation respecting that?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I would say that for any student in any class of mine it would not be adequate.

Mr. ARENS. Do you see there an art work by a person by the name of Jackson Pollock entitled, "Cathedral"?

Mr. WILLIAMS. After all, there are so many of these things that it is confusing. I am familiar with the one you mean. I have seen that before, and that is just a meaningless scribble. It is the worst doodle that you could imagine on a telephone pad. Most of these things are doodles.

The CHAIRMAN. Then the Soviet understanding of life in America would be that we are either doodlers or confused.

Mr. ARENS. I lay before you a photographic reproduction of the art work by Pollock which is being sent to Moscow entitled, "Cathedral." Would you kindly give us, based upon your extensive background and experience as one of the topflight artists of this Nation and as president of the American Artists Professional League, your appraisal of that so-called work of art?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Of course, it is not a work of art. It is merely a childish doodle.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Williams, if I took this bottle of ink and splashed it on this piece of paper here in a haphazard manner and then smeared the ink around and handed you that and asked you, on the basis of your extensive background and experience, to compare the ink blob with what you see before you, what would be your honest reaction as to the comparative artistic merits of the ink blob?

Mr. WILLIAMS. The ink blob accidentally might be better.

Mr. ARENS. Do you have an observation to make respecting the specific art works which are being sent there, bearing in mind your observation that art is used by the Communists as a weapon and bearing in mind the revelations by the chairman of this committee respecting the extensive Communist and Communist front records of a disproportionate number of these artists?

Mr. WILLIAMS. May I say that in connection with one of them he happens to be a Polish-American who has been in this country a relatively short time. He came over, I believe, went back, and came back again. I am not sure. I do not know him personally. I have never seen any of his work. He obviously belongs to what I would

call the workers in welded wreckage. He was chosen as the man to select the sculpture to be exhibited. His name is Theodore Roszak. He was a member of the jury.

The CHAIRMAN. He was a member of the jury and selected his own work?

Mr. WILLIAMS. The two artists on the jury were automatically included. The work by Theodore Roszak shown, is called "Hound of Heaven," but you can't tell what it is.

The CHAIRMAN. Just a minute. The jury selected the art and then selected their own work?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I think that the two artist members of the jury were told that they automatically had something included so let us not blame them for that.

The CHAIRMAN. That is like selecting Casey Stengel to umpire the world series.

Mr. WILLIAMS. If I may digress for a moment; in my particular profession of sculpture, I would say that we have had in the past 50 years a great renaissance of sculpture, probably the finest school of sculpture which has existed since the Italian Renaissance. Not one of those great names is included in this exhibition. We all love the Lincoln Memorial. Why isn't there something by Daniel Chester French? We all love the "Grief" by Saint-Gaudens. Why is there not something by Saint-Gaudens? Why not something by J. Q. A. Ward, who did the wonderful Washington in front of the Sub-Treasury in New York City? We have a school of sculpture of which I am proud to be a member. We have had some really great men. Not one of those is selected; but this newly made American, Theodore Roszak, has chosen these curious things, most of which do not come under the definition of sculpture.

Mr. ARENS. The chairman, in his address to the House, detailed the service to the Communist movement by many of these artists and pointed out the manner in which their perverted so-called art works had been used by known Communist publications to further the cause of communism. Thereafter the chairman was attacked in certain quarters because he was discussing "political affiliation" of the artists. Based upon your experience in the art field and in the field of investigating communism and subversion, what is your reaction to the characterization of communism as a political concept?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Obviously, I consider communism subversion. It has nothing to do with politics whatsoever. Anybody who joins the Communist Party is a traitor. Anybody who adheres to, or knowingly helps, it is, to my mind, a traitor.

Mr. ARENS. Now, Mr. Williams, I lay before you a photographic reproduction of one of the presentations which will be displayed in Moscow to represent American culture by Philip Evergood, entitled, "Street Corner." Kindly look at that picture, describe it if you can to this committee, and give this committee your best studied judgment as to the impact that presentation will have upon the mind of the viewer.

Mr. WILLIAMS. This is crudely drawn. He isn't very able as a draftsman. It is a crudely drawn, and probably crudely painted, street scene of a curious bunch of characters out in front of a drug store or bar or something or a barbershop, I think it is. It's in a slum district and it certainly has nothing very cheerful about it. It is another example of "social protest" art.

The CHAIRMAN. Why is it that all of these scenes of America depict slum districts? Is the purpose of it to convey to the Soviets the idea that we live in slums?

Mr. WILLIAMS. It is to show the fact that we have slums and give them the impression that that is all we have.

Going back to sculpture, of course most of the sculpture has nothing to say one way or another. There is one called, "The Ring" by Isamu Noguchi. It means nothing. It's a doodle in ceramics or stone.

Here is a piece by Hugo Robus called, "Walking Figure." It would fall apart if it walked.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Williams, since it became generally known that you were going to testify before this committee, have you been solicited by any person connected with USIA not to testify or to tone down your testimony?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, I would not want to say anything about well-intentioned people, but I think that there was very definitely a hope that maybe I would not testify or maybe that I would just let sleeping dogs lie.

The CHAIRMAN. Was this hope communicated to you?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. By somebody in USIA?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Somebody ought to be cited for contempt of Congress for attempting to prevent, or to interfere with, the testimony of a witness subpoenaed to appear before this committee.

Mr. WILLIAMS. May I say that he very definitely stated that he didn't wish to in any way influence me.

The CHAIRMAN. You were under subpoena at the time the attempt was made to have you soften your testimony, is that the fact?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, I had been asked to come and I volunteered to come down.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Mr. Chairman, not necessarily at this open hearing, but I hope that there will be included in the record of this committee, at least in executive session, the identity of that person; and let me say to the gentleman that I think he is being exceedingly charitable in his repeated references to well-intentioned people. Any person who did that with respect to a witness before this committee, in my judgment, was not well intentioned.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Williams, was the conversation or communication which you had with a representative of USIA initiated by him?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I would say it was initiated probably as a result of my good friend, the retired consul general's, efforts to make them call the show back immediately, because I had told him what was going on, and to send over a respectable show instead, one that we can be proud of. They have taken his advice to the extent of padding it a little. They have not sent over any of the early paintings. They have added a Homer and five or six paintings, including one more by a man who is already included.

Mr. ARENS. We have another witness who would like to be heard this morning. I would like to suggest that that would conclude the staff interrogation of Mr. Williams.

Mr. WILLIAMS. May I ask if I may place in the record additional quotations, exhibits, and so forth, which I have not had time to present during the hearing?

The Chairman. So ordered.

(Additional material submitted by Mr. Williams follows:)

First, may I include, in compliance with the chairman's final direction, a brief overall summary of my judgment as to the exhibition as selected.

It includes a number of "social protest" paintings of no aesthetic or artistic importance; at least one revolting satirical lampoon; a heavy load of meaningless doodles in paint and bronze; and a few traditional works, only one or two of which have any outstanding merit. If it is judged on merit alone, it is a dismal and dreary potpourri.

It fails utterly to give "a true image of America" as it contains next to nothing to show the wondrous natural beauty with which God has endowed our beloved lands, to portray its glorious history, its heroes or its valiant people of varied races, and nothing to picture the wondrous architecture of our cities or charm and beauty of our villages and towns.

Now as to other material I had ready to read into the record had time permitted:

I have already shown by the quotations of Khrushchev, William Z. Foster, and V. J. Jerome, one of the cultural commissars of the Communist Party in this country, that it is a firm Communist doctrine that art must be used as a weapon in the class struggle. I have also mentioned the fact that Communists use art to further their purposes primarily through the device of "Socialist Realism."

"Socialist Realism" might be described as a more or less traditional style of painting with a message included in it. The message may be either positive or negative. A positive message would be a pro-Communist one. It would portray the Soviet Union or Red China in a favorable light, or some well-known Communist as a noble man and hero. Negative messages would be anticapitalistic, anti-United States, or perhaps depict some anti-Communist in an unfavorable light. Also included in this negative form of "Socialist Realism" is art of "social protest"—depictions of poverty, injustice, etc., in the United States and other non-Communist countries.

An excellent definition of "Socialist Realism" was contained in the greetings sent to the recent All-Union Soviet Writers Congress by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. This congress, the third since the Revolution, was held in Moscow in the latter part of May of this year. The following quotation from the greetings is, in my opinion, an authoritative and revealing explanation of what Communists mean by "Socialist Realism":

The lofty duty of Soviet writers [and this, of course, also applies to painters, sculptors, etc.] is to reveal truthfully and vividly the splendour of people's achievements in production, the majesty and grandeur of the fight for Communism; to be passionate propagandists for the Seven-Year Plan; to instill courage and energy into the hearts of the Soviet people; to root out the survivals of capitalism in people's minds; to help do away with all that holds up our progress. This is the path along which the great art of Communism will develop * * * an art capable of inspiring millions and millions of builders of Communism to new great achievements.¹

¹"The Lofty Calling of Soviet Writers," Moscow News, May 27, 1959, p. 1.

Former Soviet Premier Georgi Malenkov, in his report to the meeting of the Cominform in Poland in September 1947, further clarified the meaning of "Socialist Realism" when he said that the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union had stressed the fact that:

In the Communist education of the people, particularly in the correct education of the youth * * * Soviet writers, artists and cultural workers can have no other interests save the interests of the people and of the state. That is why all advocacy of art devoid of ideas, of art without politics, of "art for art's sake" is alien to Soviet literature, harmful to the interests of the Soviet people and state and must not find a place in our books and periodicals.

The Soviet magazine *Culture and Life*, issue of November 21, 1948, emphasizes what might be called the positive (from the Communist viewpoint) aspects of "Socialist Realism" in the following statement:

The basis of socialist realism is the affirmation in artistic form of the new socialist actuality. * * * While showing the strength and beauty of the soul of the Soviet man, his inner power and nobility as developed by the Bolshevik Party, and his devotion and love for the Soviet native land, writers who are true to the method of socialist realism must actively combat the survivals of the past in the consciousness of our people. * * * The attention of the Soviet writer must primarily be attracted to the new qualities that accompanied the victory of socialism.

I also have here a quotation from the *Literary Gazette* of December 28, 1946, published in Moscow, which not only reveals how Communists use all forms of art to promote their totalitarian regime, but is also revealing of the Soviet's true intentions when they talk so much, as they do today, about peaceful coexistence:

We do not intend to abandon the war theme * * *. We must write of war so that the generation of young people which comes after us can love arms and be ready for struggles and victories.

Now, I would like to say a few words about the results of this system of enforced "Socialist Realism" in all arts behind the Iron Curtain. There is obviously a suppression of freedom in art and a debasement of the artist, who is turned into a hack and propagandist for the regime in power—in this case, the international Communist conspiracy.

In August, 1954, the *New York Times* published a series of two articles on the life of the artist under communism. They were written by a man named Andrzej Panufnik, a Polish composer and conductor, who had managed to escape from Communist-controlled Poland and obtained asylum in Great Britain.

In the second of these two articles, the one published on August 24, 1954, Mr. Panufnik described what Communist "Socialist Realism" does to the artist:

For the professional man, life under a Communist system is more difficult altogether than for the worker or peasant. This is particularly so in the case of the creative artist.

For the worker is asked only to use his lathe and the peasant his plow; but the artist must subordinate his imagination and individuality to the demands of the Communist Party and create—if he wants to live at all—in a manner that serves the ends of the Communist state.

The Communist doctrine today is that the writer, painter, and composer must use their talents first and last in the service of the political struggle and thus stimulate the efforts of all to build up the Communist state. This is called "socialist realism."

* * * * *

* * * there is no art, no literature, no music, only political propaganda * * *

* * * * *

* * * If he [the artist] is prominent in his field it is incumbent on him to use his influence in the service of the political cause.

* * * * *

Thus the artist can have no freedom of thought and expression under communism and, whatever his talents, can develop into little more than a paid hack.

That, I think, is a pretty true picture of what Communist control of all forms of cultural activity has done to the artist behind the Iron Curtain. In honesty, however, I think we are forced to admit that for the painter and sculptor, the artist who does not use words but tries to portray things visually, the picture may not be quite as black as it is for other artists.

I mentioned earlier in my testimony that I thought the Soviet art now on exhibition in New York City was very good and that, unfortunately, it would make a fine impression on our people because the Communists had chosen talented artists and some fine paintings. Even though "Socialist Realism" is generally enforced in the Soviet Union, some of these paintings on display in New York are non-political. There is, for example, a seascape by an artist named Kalnin. The subject of this painting is the same as that chosen by many free American artists in their painting—boats sailing on the water. Landscapes are also included. In the Soviet Union as in all countries, whether Communist or not, there are many beautiful scenes in nature; and the artist, by painting them, can find freedom of expression and exhibit his talents without political censorship.

There is, in other words, some limited escape for the artist under communism. However, it is *limited*—he is expected to produce works glorifying the state and communism—and he lives and works forever with this fact hanging over him. No real artist can be happy and fully express himself under such conditions.

The Communist artists, this side of the Iron Curtain who are under party control, those who have the souls of artists at all, are the real slaves.

Here they must grind out dreary social protest pictures and draw satanic satirical lampoons or, if less gifted, paint endless befuddling doodles ad nauseam.

And how the few real artists in their clutches, allowed to use their talents more constructively but equally boosted and promoted by the

liberal cabal, must hate their jobs as door-openers to the prestige of membership in honored art societies and the patrimony of foundations to these other comrades!

Now, to the subject of communism and so-called "modern" art forms. This is a touchy, controversial subject, and I will try to be as objective as possible in treating it.

I have already pointed out that "Socialist Realism" is the official Communist Party line on art. Because of this fact, certain proponents of modern art, particularly its more extreme forms—cubism, surrealism, abstractionism, impressionism, and so on—claim that modern art is anathema to communism, that it is completely opposed by the Communist Party and that no so-called modern artist can be a Communist, pro-Communist, or fellow traveler. This is completely false, as can be readily proved.

The magazine, *Mainstream*, is the official organ of the U.S. Communist Party on cultural matters. The issue of April 1958 contained an article entitled, "Picasso and Others." This was a review and critique, from the Communist viewpoint and for the benefit of Communist Party members, of the art of Picasso, Matisse, Leger, de Goya, and Courbet.

Picasso is well known as a Communist and would be definitely classified as a "modern" (abstract, etc.) painter.

Matisse, who would also generally be placed in this category, was a Communist Party member.

Leger was also definitely a "modernist" and was also a member of the Communist Party. His funeral was staged by the party, with Etienne Fajon, then secretary of the French Communist Party, delivering the funeral oration.

The other two artists, Courbet and de Goya, I believe would be classified by most people as traditional artists.

Courbet was a professed Socialist; de Goya, an artist whose works were strong in social content or what the Communists would today call "social protest" realism.

The Communist magazine *Mainstream*, in this article, does not praise or damn any one of these artists simply because they are modernists or traditionalists. It treats all of them equally, reviewing their strong and weak points, virtues and failures, as artists.

The article reveals that there is a split in the Communist Party over Picasso, some party members lavishing excessive praise on him and others being excessively critical of his works. The article itself is critical of Picasso in some respects. Its major criticism of him is based on the "Socialist Realism," or Communist propaganda, view of art. It says of Picasso that "his tragedy is that most of his life he has failed to find themes to do himself justice." And that in hundreds of his works he "sacrificed everything to ideas which are not worthy of the sacrifice."

At the same time, the article praises him highly as "a popular dramatic artist," whose work can "strike our hearts until we are forced to make resolutions." It adds that "there is a violence in everything he has done which points to a moral, didactic conviction that cannot be satisfied simply by an awareness of pleasure."

A revealing commentary on the Communist Party view of modern art is found in the warning against the destruction of Picasso's example "by reestablishing all the paraphernalia he has liberated us from."

The Communist Party obviously likes "modern" art because of the revolutionary role it has played in "liberating" us from the—in its viewpoint—old and outworn classic artistic tradition.

The article describes Matisse as "essentially a lyrical and personal artist," who sought to portray beauty and bring pleasure to the viewer of his works primarily through the use of color.

Matisse was not a painter of "Socialist Realism," but he was a Communist and, as such, helped the party greatly. Now that he is dead, the party forgives him his devotion to producing pleasure through his paintings and his lack of "Socialist Realism". It says: "He wished to paint what one has a right to as a welcome and a reward after a hard day's work. Let it stand at that."

Another statement about Matisse reveals the party's attitude toward modern art:

"The Fauves, whom Matisse led, recorded sensations. Their paintings were (and are) fresh and stimulating * * *." It is interesting to note that, in these words, a definitely modernist art movement is praised, and not condemned.

In its treatment of Leger, the Communist magazine mentions his cubist pictures and abstract murals, with no criticism of them or the artist himself for following these modern art schools.

It praises Leger because he was "so boldly a materialist," and states that his paintings "incorporate all the formal discoveries of modern art and yet are classic, suggest order and yet are full of gaiety." Clearly there is no criticism of modern art in these words. The section on Leger ends on these words:

Leger stands beside Picasso. Picasso is the painter of today; his greatness rests, as I have previously tried to show, on the vitality with which he expresses our present conflicts. Leger is the painter of the future. And by that I do not simply mean that his future as an artist is assured, but that he assures his audience, if they have the courage to accept it, of their future.

I could go on but I think this is enough to show that, at the present time, the U.S. Communist Party accepts and praises artists who are classified as modernists and that it also believes that modern art, too, can be used to promote communism.

Historically, too, the Communist movement has favored modern art from its earliest days. In his book "Stalin," Nikolaus Basseches describes in one chapter the transformation that took place in Russia in the early thirties. This change was effected both by orders of Stalin himself and through the influence of the privileged class of party officials that emerged at the time. Basseches reveals in this chapter that modern art forms had been promoted by Soviet rulers for a period of 12-15 years after the Revolution:

Actually before the revolution those literary and artistic, and also in some measure those scientific, circles that had not been recognized by society in the past, had joined in the Russian revolution. As they had not been able to make their way under the old social order, they stood for a new one—for the revolution. They sought recognition as innovators; they were out to revolutionize art, and thought they would be able to attain their ends through the revolution.

* * * On the first anniversary of the revolution the decoration of all Moscow was entrusted to this Futurist [Vladimir Mayakovsky].

In architecture and in music the most extreme tendencies in the West were regarded as just extreme enough to serve as the starting point in Russia. Le Corbusier was considered to be the architect for the industrial age; his functional style was regarded as an expression of the materialist conception of art. * * *

These tendencies were regarded as revolutionary. Their leading representatives had long been members of the Communist Party, and considered themselves to represent revolutionary art. For years, with State support, they had attacked classical art and literature, setting them down as behind the times and incompatible with the revolution. The old classics of music and literature were regarded by them as representatives of an obsolete aristocratic culture, doomed to extinction.

In some respects they were for years all-powerful. The old art and traditional artists suffered severely at their hands. The neutral and unprejudiced observer, however, faced with the artificial applause, given under the pressure of propaganda, and with the campaigns of glorification in the Soviet press, was likely to ask himself sometimes, "Can even an educated person really make anything of this art and this drama? What can it possibly have to offer to workers and peasants?" If one put the question to a Russian intellectual, he would answer that it was necessary to be well ahead of the times, and that by and by the masses would catch up with this new art.

* * * The Proletarian Writers' Union, which aimed at a new language, a new style, and a brand new literature, suspected the whole body of pre-revolutionary writers and edged them out.

Then, during the early thirties, came the transformation, the reversal of these policies:

* * * Stalin was pursuing a new path, and not only in matters of art; or, rather * * * he was returning to the old path. * * *

This was a new tune. Now the revolutionary gods of music, the theater, and sculpture were overthrown. The Proletarian Writers' Union was dissolved, and all writers had to join the Soviet Authors' Union, thus rehabilitating the old conservative writers.

* * * * *

Very soon new formulas were found for the intellectual life of the Soviet Union; the formula for art was Realism—realism, which everyone thoroughly understands. All deviations from it were denounced. The modernist literary and artistic works were unintelligible to the masses, and so was the dangerous naturalism, which so ill suited positive prop-

aganda and patriotic rhetoric. * * * The formula "Realistic in form and socialistic in content" was soon invented for the intellectual life of the Russian State. "Socialistic in content" meant simply "patriotic," the content which the dictatorial State wants.

* * * The words "Socialist in content" had no other meaning than that the intellectual content of all works of art and literature must simply be an emanation of the spirit of Moscow.

* * * * *

* * * The Soviet State had set out not only to provide shows and entertainments for the masses, but to make every phase of culture serve also a sober and practical aim, that of political propaganda for the spread of useful knowledge and the stimulation of the energies of the workers. For that it needed popular forms.

Basseches' statements on this subject are confirmed by official Communist writings. Jack Chen, a correspondent for the *Daily Worker*, is quoted (in a congressional speech of July 20, 1956, by the Honorable George A. Dondero) as having said, in part:

But there was * * * a really shattering break from which Russian art is suffering even today. The first years in art after October were dominated by the left, the futurists, the constructivists, suprematists, the abstract painters, and the Cezannists, Mayakovsky, Tatlin, Malivich, the artists of the Jack of Diamonds group. The break with the past was bitter. Even the study of anatomy was exiled from the art schools. This conscious break with the bourgeois realist tradition and with Tzarist feudal art lasted from 1918 'til 1924. As a result a whole generation of artists left the art schools without the basic equipment for realist painting.

Chen then went on to say, later in his article, that Soviet artists—are fully conscious of the high achievement that is expected of Soviet artists. But, while sanely listing their successes, they do ask that account be taken of the serious difficulties with which the art here [the Soviet Union] is faced—difficulties which impatient sympathizers abroad tend to ignore. They have in mind a more fundamental difficulty—the loss of a realist tradition.

It is clear from the writings of these two men, one a Communist and the other an anti-Communist, that the so-called modern art forms flourished and were encouraged in the Soviet Union immediately after the Bolshevik Revolution, and that it was not until a good number of years had passed and they had served their purpose that they were outlawed and replaced by "Socialist Realism."

It is not difficult to understand why the so-called modern art forms were promoted in the Soviet Union at the time of, and immediately after, the Revolution.

A. Y. Arosev, a Soviet authority, expressed the Communist view of art in the following words:

Our conception of art is based upon the principles of Marxist-Leninist philosophy.

Art * * * plays the role of a specific weapon. * * * By the sheer logic of social evolution that is impelled by the struggle of classes, it (art) either tends toward a revolutionary change of the existing social order or serves the interests of its maintenance and consolidation.

Art, in other words, does either one of two things in the Communist view: One, it helps revolutionize and overthrow existing social orders or, two, it helps preserve them.

Immediately after the Bolshevik Revolution, the Communists in Russia wanted to tear down, so far as they were able and in all fields, all so-called "bourgeois" ideas—political, economic, religious, and artistic.

The so-called modern art forms were, as the authorities I have quoted point out, a revolt against the established order. Whether or not all the practitioners of these forms were actually Communists, it is a fact that their art served Communist purposes by helping to tear down existing art standards in the Soviet Union. This fact is attested to by some of the leading exponents of modern art. Sir Herbert Edward Read, the British Marxist and a leading exponent of surrealism, has written:

Superrealism is a negative art, as I have said, a destructive art; it follows that it has only a temporary role; it is the art of a transitional period.

Read agrees with the French surrealist, George Hugnet, that—

Socially surrealism desires the liberation of men, and devotes itself to this end by all the means in its power: unremitted defeatism, demoralization, and aggressiveness.

Read goes further than this and states that the surrealist is not only a revolutionary, negative and destructive, but that he is naturally a Marxist. The surrealist, he wrote:

Is therefore revolutionary, but not merely a revolutionary in matters of art. He begins with a revolutionary attitude in philosophy, with (to be precise) that revolutionary conception for which Marx was responsible, and which may be perhaps summarized in two propositions:

(1) That no theory is valid that does not envisage a practical activity based on that theory, and (2) that the object of philosophy is not to interpret the world but to transform it. Beginning from such a standpoint, the surrealist is naturally a Marxian socialist, and generally claims that he is a more consistent Communist than many who submit to all manner of compromise with the aesthetic culture and moral conventions of this last phase of capitalist civilization. * * * The surrealists entirely rely for the bringing about of the liberation of man upon the proletarian revolution.

Sir Herbert Read pulls no punches when he tells what is the chief problem to be overcome in bringing about the world envisioned by

Karl Marx and also the role that the surrealist artist is to play in this struggle:

* * * everywhere the greatest obstacle to the creation of this new social reality is the existence of the cultural heritage of the past—the religion, the philosophy, the literature and the art which makes up the whole complex ideology of the bourgeois mind * * *.

The surrealists [surrealists], who possess very forceful expositors of their point of view, realize this very clearly, and the object of their movement is therefore to discredit the bourgeois ideology in art, to destroy the academic conception of art. Their whole tendency is negative and destructive.

I know that some will protest that Sir Herbert Read cannot be said to be the official spokesman for all surrealists. They will also point out that while he is a Marxist, he is an anti-Stalinist. But whether Read is anti-Stalinist or not, he is a Communist and fundamentally a sympathizer with the Soviet Union and the world Communist movement. In proof of this charge, I quote a statement Read has made:

* * * in a world of competing tyrannies, the artist can have only one allegiance, to that dictatorship which claims to end all forms of tyranny and promises, however indefinitely, the complete liberation of man, the dictatorship of the proletariat.

I grant that no one man can be said to be the one and only official spokesman for any particular art movement—because there is always some variety of opinion among the members or followers of any specialized art school and such movements are not organized in a formal way. Nevertheless, Read has been recognized for years as an important, authoritative spokesman for surrealism, even though it cannot be said that he is the one and only voice of the surrealists. In addition, he is not the only surrealist, or surrealist fan, to express sentiments such as those I have quoted from his works.

For example, Wallace Fowlie in his book, *The Age of Surrealism*, wrote:

By 1935 so many of the surrealists had joined the Communist Party that the movement itself seemed to be allied to Communism.

I want to make it clear that I am not here accusing all surrealists or all practitioners of the nonobjective art schools of being Communist or pro-Communist. I merely wish to emphasize two points:

(1) That it is an historical fact that, whether or not they are such, their art movement was used by the Communists in the Soviet Union before, during, and for a period after, the Revolution because it served the destructive purposes of the Communists at that time.

I also firmly believe that, in non-Communist countries, it is still being used by the Communists for the same reason.

(2) Contrary to the claims of many people, the Communists have not always, and do not today, oppose modern art in all its forms. The truth is that while at times Communists have criticized some modern art forms for certain reasons, they have, as I have amply shown by quotations and examples, promoted it and had kind words

to say for it, as well as many of its leading practitioners outside the Iron Curtain.

One point concerning Communist doctrine regarding modern art that deserves emphasis is the fact that they consider it only a temporarily useful instrument. I have already quoted Sir Herbert Read, a non-Stalinist Communist, to the effect that it is only "the art of a transitional period."

Jack Chen, the previously quoted Stalinist and Chinese correspondent of the Daily Worker, supports Read on this point. Writing an approved article in an official Communist publication, he outlined the Communist view of modern art (which he admitted had been used by Moscow) as follows:

At the point where typically bourgeois art descends step by step from the truest vision of reality that it attained, and disintegrates in the realms of fantasy, in cubism, constructivism, expressionism, and surrealism, it is there that Socialist ideology and its art bound up with the great progressive labor movement carries human vision forward again to realism, reintegrates it, and advances to social realism, to a truer vision of the world and to greater heights of art and humanist aspiration.

In other words, from the Kremlin or Stalinist viewpoint, the modern art forms represent a decline in what Communists call "bourgeois art," which is really the classic tradition in Western art. It is here in this period of decline, in the Communist view, that they step in and weld propaganda to traditional art to make it "Socialist Realism" which, in their opinion, is a higher stage of artistic achievement than anything which existed in the past.

The fact that the Communists consider modern art forms as only transitional weapons and rely primarily on the classical tradition in art for their "Socialist Realism" is, in my opinion, a tribute to traditional art—even though it represents a corruption and debasement of it.

Communists have studied human psychology deeply and extensively. They are master propagandists and much superior to the West in what is variously called political, propaganda, or mind warfare. They have found, not at all surprisingly, that messages can be conveyed, good or bad emotions aroused, and that people can be inspired—or made to hate—much more effectively when the artist uses a familiar, understandable form or symbol to communicate with the viewer of his works. They face the fact, in other words, that art must speak a common language, one whose alphabet, we might say, is understood by the great masses of people.

It is for this reason that their use of traditional art for "Socialist Realism" is a tribute to the classic tradition. It is Communist acknowledgment that traditional art speaks a universal language, that it means something to most people and, for this reason, is superior to the various so-called modern art forms that are being promoted so extensively in certain cultural circles of the Western world today.

There is another way in which Communists use art that I would like to mention. That is by capitalizing on the names and prestige of artists who are Communists or fellow travelers or those who cooperate with the Communist Party, its fronts, and causes. This is a technique the Communists use in all fields—science, education, labor,

politics, etc.—whenever it can find dupes and collaborators. Communist promotion of Picasso is an outstanding example of this technique.

If an artist will cooperate with the Communist Party in promoting its line, its fronts, and its causes, the party does not care too much, actually, if he is a traditionalist or a modernist. The important fact to the party is that the artist, no matter what his ability or his style, is helping communism. His name and fame are being used to attract other people into Communist fronts—to sell them on Communist policy and bring money into the treasury of the Communist movement.

This use of art by the Communist Party is illustrated in the letter-heads of the party's more prominent front organizations, which frequently list the names of artists as sponsors or officers, along with persons prominent in other fields, such as those I mentioned a few moments ago.

Now, I would like to wind up my statement with a few practical examples of how Communists have actually used art in this country to promote the Communist Party and the international Communist movement headquartered in Moscow.

Back in 1932, the notorious Communist artist, William Gropper, sent a cable to Moscow, reporting to his Soviet masters his "artistic accomplishments" in the Communist struggle for world domination. I quote his telegram as one example of what Communist artists have done, and in some cases are still doing, in this country:

In reply to your cable received requesting me to report on my activities and action in fighting the imperial war, allow me to state in short as follows: (1) Enclosed are just a few of the many cartoons on the subject which have been published in the *Morning Freiheit*, the Jewish party paper, and one of the largest circulation. I have also drawn cartoons for other publications such as the *New Masses*. (2) I have held exhibitions of cartoons, drawings, and paintings on the imperialist war and the defense of Soviet Union throughout the west coast of the United States of America like Berkeley, San Francisco, Los Angeles, and in galleries in New York City. (3) At present, I am at work on a mural painting to be exhibited in the Museum of Modern Art which thousands of people visit weekly and I shall register my protest by exposing the war plot against the Soviet Union in this painting. (4) I am also organizing, through the bureau of the John Reed Club, a counter exhibition to the exhibition of the Modern Museum, to be held in the galleries of the John Reed Club by its members. The artist group of the John Reed Club have also been active in painting posters and streamers for demonstration. * * *

With revolutionary greetings,

WILLIAM GROPPER.

I have a few more examples here. Here is an item from the *Daily Worker* of May 31, 1951, under the headline: "Winners of Graphic Arts Contest on Peace and Progress."

This is an account of a "Graphic Arts Competition on Peace and Progress" staged by the New York Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions, which was the New York branch of the National Council

of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions, an officially cited Communist front.

It is interesting to me that four of the American artists whose works have been chosen for exhibition in Moscow are named in this article as members of the Jury of Selection and Jury of Awards. They are Philip Evergood, Jacob Lawrence, Raphael Soyer, and Max Weber.

The article states that the first prize of \$100 was won by a painting, "600,000,000 Jews," meant to read, I am quite sure, "6,000,000 Jews." Members of this committee are more familiar than I am, I feel certain, with the fact that the Communist Party continually harps on the alleged menace of nazism and, for this purpose, is constantly trying to keep before our minds Hitler's persecution of the Jews. In this, I believe you will find the reason for the award of the first prize to this picture.

The second prize went to a painting entitled, "The Informer." Again, I know that you gentlemen are much more familiar than I am with the fact that for a considerable number of years now—since large-scale exposures of Communists were begun in the late 1940's by this committee and other agencies of the Government—that the Communist Party has been harping on the "informer" theme in an effort to discredit all those who serve the cause of freedom by revealing what they know about the Communist conspiracy.

Another little item, again from the Daily Worker, issue of December 11, 1951: It concerns an art show being sponsored by the American Labor Party at its Annual Labor Bazaar in New York City. The American Labor Party was the New York branch of the Communist-controlled Progressive Party and has also been cited as a Communist front. The theme of this Communist-sponsored art show was "Art For Your Sake." This Daily Worker item mentions Philip Evergood, one of the artists chosen for the Moscow exhibition, as being represented at this art show designed to promote the U.S. Communist Party.

Now, I have two items here from the Daily Worker concerning art shows under the sponsorship of the American Veterans for Peace, another organization which has been cited by congressional committees as a Communist front.

The first item is from the Daily Worker of April 4, 1952. It concerns the first art show put on by this organization in New York City. The second paragraph of the article reads as follows:

Of the 110 or more pieces exhibited, *about half have something important to say.* This is a pretty good average, considering that the veterans come from all walks of life and were *not restricted to any specific theme.* [Emphasis supplied.]

This quotation, without any explanation from me, reveals how Communists use art as a weapon. Further on in the article, we find that the "best of the paintings" deal with such subjects as "Peace Demonstrations," "Miners," "East River Workers," "Mexican Workers," "Negro and White Together," "Partisans," and "New China." Anyone who is at all familiar with the Communist Party line can immediately grasp the political significance and the "Socialist Realism" of pictures with such titles as these.

The following statement from the same article reveals quite clearly that the pieces in the exhibit with "something important to say," were pro-Communist in what they said:

It is significant that not one painting or drawing received by American Veterans for Peace red-baited or defended Wall Street's intervention in Korea.

Next is an item from the April 17, 1953, issue of the *Daily Worker*, concerning the Second National Veterans Art Show for Peace staged by the same organization in New York City a year later. The headline on the article reads "Anti-War Painting by Youthful Artist Wins First Prize at Vets' Art Show." In the text of the news article, we read this about the prize-winning paintings:

The most popular painting at the show from the point of view of both public and jury is H. Dinnerstein's "War," an impressive work showing Koreans and children impaled on a huge bayonet. This striking work by the talented 24-year-old Dinnerstein is not for sale. It is for rent. The young artist wants his work to be seen and is offering to rent it to unions and organizations for \$10. It won the jury's first prize on the first ballot. This one painting alone makes a visit to the Veterans art show a must.

Walter Williams, Negro artist, won the jury's second prize for his "Summer Night," a dramatically colored painting of a man asleep on a fire escape.

Stanley Futerman's portrait of "My Grandfather"—it captures the tough, hard lot of a working-class man—won the jurors' third prize.

These quotations show how the Communists use art to play up poverty and the seamy side of American life. This is Communist art of "social protest."

Again in this article, some of the listed titles of the paintings demonstrate Communist use of art in the class struggle—"The Diplomats," "Factory Workers," "War Weariness," "Job Hunting," "Union Man," "Anonymous Alcoholics," "Homeless Man."

Once again it is interesting to note that three of the artists chosen for the U.S. exhibition in Moscow—Philip Evergood, Jack Levine, and Raphael Soyer—are named in this *Daily Worker* article as sponsors of this Communist art show.

The Communists not only use their front organizations to stage shows of pro-Communist art, but even have an art gallery for that purpose.

The following column from the *Daily Worker* of September 11, 1943, Page 7, signed by the Communist Party's Art Council, reveals without pulling any punches, the nature of the A.C.A. (American Contemporary Art) Gallery in New York City. I quote excerpts from that column and would like to have the full column made a part of the record of my testimony:

The A.C.A. is an old and well-loved friend, as is the genial, round Herman Baron who presides over it. For ten years the gallery was located in Greenwich Village, and for ten years it has been "receptive to new ideas, gave encouragement to all schools, and especially sponsored art that was concerned

with subject matter and social themes." No "ivory tower" this A.C.A. but a gallery with a rich history of using art directly and actively in the social struggle. Countless fund raising auctions and exhibits for Spain, China, war relief, defense of civil liberties, the New Masses and the Daily Worker have been held there.

* * * The whole development of "social" art in New York has its roots here.

* * * It is very significant that the A.C.A. Galleries should have opened its new home to the public with an exhibit dealing with the war against fascism.

* * * The styles for the most part are what today is loosely termed modern.

For those who have in the past turned away from Modern Art as something out of this world, this show will be a revelation.¹

It is interesting to note how the official art body of the Communist Party deals with the subject of modern art in this column. Apparently, as long as modern art is not so extreme, so nonobjective or surrealist that it is incapable of portraying anything familiar to the average person—and when it succeeds to some extent in dealing with a party line subject—the Communists find it quite acceptable.

This concludes the material on the subject of Communist use of art which I have prepared for this hearing. In the name of the American Artists Professional League, I wish to thank the committee for giving me the opportunity to register our protest against the nature of the U.S. art exhibition in Moscow and to present this information to the American public. Communists have made significant inroads in the art field, just as they have in others in this country. This is something to which both the public and the artists must be alerted. It is our hope that this hearing will be helpful in this respect and that it will help prevent the debasement of American art through service to the cause of communism.

We, of the American Artists Professional League, are all for freedom of the arts, letting anyone draw, paint, model anything or "nothing," in any sound or crazy way he or she may want to.

However, we are all against the cabal of certain so-called art experts, art critics, and museum boys, who have, it would appear, seized control of a large proportion of the art press, many of our museums, galleries, etc. in an all-out revolutionary effort to foster, promote, and applaud only the sinister and disturbing social realist protest and destructionist "ism" schools, and have dropped a paper curtain between the vast majority of artists, who are just as modern but work in the stream of classic tradition, and the great American public they seek to reach.

Most of all, we strive for the youth of America, whose real talent, artistic vision, and aspiration is being so warped and discouraged.

Finally, we are opposed to the use of public funds for the exhibition and promotion, at home and abroad, of the works of any, let alone a host of, artists with records of subversive affiliation.

We feel sure that in demanding the recall of this weirdly assorted collection we speak not for ourselves alone but for the great majority of loyal fellow Americans.

¹ For full text of article, see pp. 932, 933.

It is our further hope that this latest scandal will have alerted the public to this menace and that, under Congressman Walter's leadership, the Communist involvement in our arts and their use of art as a weapon will be at long last thoroughly investigated.

A law stripping tax exemption privileges from any society, organization, or foundation found by the Attorney General to be under Communist direction or control (unless and until such situation were corrected) and a law making it illegal to use public funds for the purchase, promotion, or exhibition of works of art by artists with known Communist membership or significant Communist front affiliations, might then be considered as necessary and urgent business in the public interest.

The following is a reprint of the complete article in the *Daily Worker* of September 11, 1943, page 7, referred to by Mr. Williams on page 931:

ART TODAY—FIFTY-SEVENTH STREET GETS A BLOOD TRANSFUSION

THE A.C.A. GALLERY—63 E. 57TH ST.—SEPT. 8-25

Fifty Seventh Street has just gotten a "shot in the arm" with the opening of the A.C.A. Gallery (American Contemporary Art) at its new quarters, 67 E. 57th St.

The A.C.A. is an old and well-loved friend, as is the genial, round Herman Baron who presides over it. For ten years the gallery was located in Greenwich Village, and for ten years it has been "receptive to new ideas, gave encouragement to all schools, and especially sponsored art that was concerned with subject matter and social themes." No "ivory tower" this A.C.A. but a gallery with a rich history of using art directly and actively in the social struggle. Countless fund raising auctions and exhibits for Spain, China, war relief, defense of civil liberties, the New Masses and the *Daily Worker* have been held there.

The list of artists who had their first showings at the A.C.A. and who have since achieved "reputation and recognition" is a long one. The artist who was anti-fascist long before it was "fashionable" found a home at the A.C.A. when other galleries were closed to him. The whole development of "social" art in New York has its roots here.

The move from "downtown" to "uptown" has raised the question whether the new location implied a change in policy. To this Mr. Baron has answered with an emphatic "No."

The opening exhibition is one that promises a rich season of shows. The main room of the gallery is given over to war paintings, one of the first exhibitions of war paintings to be held on 57th Street. It is very significant that the A.C.A. Galleries should have opened its new home to the public with an exhibit dealing with the war against fascism.

It is significant when we remember that the heart and center of world culture, the old continent is at the moment submerged under the barbarism of Fascism, which enslaves all expressions of culture, to say nothing of expressions about war against Fascism. The artists in this show freely paint what they feel about the war. That they can do so lends an emphasis to the meaning of Democracy. This exhibition has meaning to every American for he can justly be proud of it as the expression of his own unique position in the world today, his position as a man who is free to fight Fascism, living in a country which is organized for this fight. This show is therefore, also, his expression of this fight.

The artists paint in many different styles. These styles range from the realistic (as we see things) to the symbolic (the people represent overall human expressions such as religion, starvation, etc.). The pictures reproduced here give some indication of this range. But all these paintings are held together by the unanimity of interest, that is subjects dealing with the war. For this reason unlike most shows dealing with a diversity of subject, and painted in different styles, it is not difficult to pass from one painting to another. For people, (or students) who are just beginning to feel their way through different styles of painting we can think of no better introduction to an understanding of painting than a study of this group of paintings.

The subjects of the canvasses are very varied. They deal with scenes on the home front, soldiers departure or furloughs, farmers, the soldiers at the front,

and many others. The styles for the most part are what today is loosely termed modern.

For those who have in the past turned away from Modern Art as something out of this world, this show will be a revelation. In fact, although we walk into a room almost exclusively filled with modern works of Art, we soon begin to feel that we have not walked into an entirely different world from the one we live in daily, as is the case with most modern Art. If we study each picture carefully we soon find that it conveys to us something that is kin to us in this world.

We cannot say enough of the sensitivity and courage which is revealed by H. Baron in the assembly of this show. His courage and sensitivity have become the bridge between the people who long to see the world expressed in cultural terms and between those few accomplished and equally courageous artists who do not hesitate to give substance to this expression.

The Art Council offers one criticism. The calibre of work is not uniformly high. There are some very weak pictures included. A stricter standard of admission should have been adhered to, even if this had resulted in a smaller exhibition.

We look forward with lively anticipation and relish to the general effect on 57th Street of this gallery with a philosophy of "social" art among a group of galleries with the philosophy that "anything" that sells is "art." The contrast will be wonderful to behold!

THE ART COUNCIL.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will stand in recess for five minutes. (Short recess.)

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will be in order.

(Committee members present: Representatives Walter, presiding, Moulder, Tuck, Miller, and Johansen.)

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Arens, call your next witness.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Frank C. Wright.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you raise your right hand? Do you swear the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. WRIGHT. I do.

TESTIMONY OF FRANK C. WRIGHT, JR.

Mr. ARENS. Kindly identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation.

Mr. WRIGHT. My name is Frank C. Wright, Jr. I live in New York City on 71st Street. I have been connected with the American Artists Professional League, Inc., and have been a member of the national board of directors for some years. I have painted portraits and landscapes for 35 years. I went to the Yale School of Fine Arts, but I got into industry and became interested in communication. Visual art is very valuable in communication. It has demonstrated that it has greater psychological impact than something you just hear or read. Someone said "A picture is worth a thousand words."

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Wright, give us, if you please, something of your own personal background with particular reference to your experiences in the general field of psychological warfare.

Mr. WRIGHT. I went over to Germany to help General Clay in the Bipartite Control Office. I became U.S. Economic Adviser to the Bipartite Control Office for Germany and was there for two years with Military Government.

During these two years the Iron Curtain slammed down on the tenth country. The Berlin blockade was put on, and the airlift was instituted. I was naturally called into the area of economic warfare because I was U.S. Economic Adviser.

From that it was a jump into psychological warfare, and I instituted some of the efforts of this country in fighting this new kind of war. This was a new front; a "non-hardware phase" of a total war.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Wright, based upon your background and experience, would you kindly express yourself with reference to the nature of the struggle between the free world and the international Communist tyranny?

Mr. WRIGHT. It is a new kind of warfare.

Mr. ARENS. Would you characterize or describe that warfare?

Mr. WRIGHT. It is a communications warfare. I call it "conquest by corrosion."

Mr. ARENS. Can you give us examples of its operation and its techniques?

Mr. WRIGHT. Yes; we communicate by means of symbols, words, images, and numbers. Now each of these has been subverted into a weapon of a new kind of a war. Americans don't fight it too effectively because it is the first time that war has ever been waged against us under a banner of peace.

Mr. ARENS. What are the elements in the conflict and what are the weapons which are used in this struggle which you have been characterizing?

Mr. WRIGHT. Well, the subversion of communications involves two basic elements. I think the easiest way to state it is that it is, first of all, organized confusion of the mind; secondly, it corrodes values.

Mr. ARENS. Would you care to elaborate on that or give illustrations?

Mr. WRIGHT. Yes. Somebody put it very well. A psychologist said, "Communism is an organized revolt of the mind against reality. If you can get somebody separated from reality, you have him at a great disadvantage." Insane people are said to be separated from reality.

Mr. ARENS. Can you give us illustrations or examples?

Mr. WRIGHT. I think the attempt to escape from reality in a way is one of the biggest businesses in the world. The entertainment business, boats, and automobiles to an extent give an escape from reality. Escape literature, movies, television, all these things give us an escape. Liquor gives people an escape. Some people even look at religion as an escape from reality. Reality is very difficult for many people and, therefore, the huge organization of the escape effort. The Communists focus this escape in strategic directions.

Mr. ARENS. Based upon your background and experience and your general characterization of the nature of this psychological warfare, can you tell us the degree to which art is utilized by the Communists as a weapon in the psychological warfare which they are waging against the free world?

Mr. WRIGHT. To the extent all communications are being manipulated in a war of communications, art is a prime weapon. It is used to confuse people and corrode values.

Now, we regard fine art as something almost sacred, but to them it is a weapon, and it is just another tool to use in confusing people and getting them separated from reality.

Mr. ARENS. How do they use art as a weapon?

Mr. WRIGHT. They produce false images.

Mr. ARENS. Give us an illustration or a characterization of that.

Mr. WRIGHT. Well, the Sputnik was a perfect example. It is a false image of "progress." They use it as a symbol of progress in a misleading way instead of reality in order to confuse people. They cannot make communism work, and show real progress as an economic system. I speak now as an economist. They cannot make it work as a progressive social system, in our sense of the word, and the worse it fails the more they must hide it behind an iron curtain and produce a false image of progress. The Iron Curtain is a communications barrier. It prevents communication, and prevents comparison between the inside and the outside. People inside are told that they are better off than people outside and vice versa. Outside we are given an image of this utopia behind the Curtain, but they never let us open the package. They hide the reality.

Mr. ARENS. How are the Communists using art in this exhibit in New York City for the furtherance of this psychological warfare which you have been describing?

Mr. WRIGHT. They are giving the American people the false image of what the Soviet Union is like. When I was in psychological warfare we published a really authoritative report on slavery behind the Iron Curtain. It was, I think, the most authoritative publication on what goes on in the forced labor camps in the Iron Curtain countries. It has maps and statistics and is widely accepted. This is not being told to the people now. In fact, it is being denied specifically.

The story is being leaked out very carefully that these slave camps have been abolished. The Warsaw charter for labor proclaims the rights of labor outside the Curtain, but each one of the rights of labor has been specifically denied to the labor inside the Curtain. This is what I mean by presenting a false image. This is done with proclamations and words, but it is also done with communications of all kinds, and images, including art.

Mr. ARENS. Would you kindly proceed in your presentation on psychological warfare and the use of art as a weapon by the Communists?

Mr. WRIGHT. Well, you have had some very good testimony before this committee, which I have read, about the subversion of words. I won't elaborate on that, except to put into the record some redefinitions of important words that were worked up by Robert S. Byfield,¹ who was one of the best authorities on psychological warfare that I know. He defines "the people" as the Communists, their sympathizers, or collaborators in any satellite nation or prospective satellite nation. The "enemies" are anti-Communists. A "traitor" is any particularly active individual among the anti-Communists.

I won't elaborate on those but I give them to the committee for such use as you wish to make of them.

(Document marked "Wright Exhibit No. 1," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. WRIGHT. I would like to put into the record a true picture of what is going on in the Soviet Union and the satellites in the field of art.

Mr. ARENS. What is the document?

¹ "Some New Qualifications for Leadership," address given by Robert S. Byfield before the Management Division of The American Society of Mechanical Engineers at Skytop, Pa., on Oct. 29, 1952.

Mr. WRIGHT. This was written by Robert C. Cody and Dr. Isaiah Bard, and developed by the Institute for the Study of the USSR. This was broadcast over the Mutual Broadcasting System.

Mr. ARENS. What is the title?

Mr. WRIGHT. "Anatomy of Soviet Communism, a documentary radio series." It is the first really clinical study of this subject that I heard on radio. I looked them up and I have the whole series here. They have a chapter on arts and culture in the USSR, and I would like to put that into the record for such use as you may want to make of it as a true picture of what has happened to the arts in the Soviet Union.

The CHAIRMAN. That will be made a part of the committee records. (Document marked "Wright Exhibit No. 2," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. WRIGHT. Being a true picture, it makes the other images completely false by comparison.

Mr. ARENS. What are the processes used by the international Communist conspiracy to condition the minds of people with respect to the Communist regime?

Mr. WRIGHT. Well, Dr. Ivan Pavlov was admittedly one of the greatest scientists that Russia ever produced, and they tried to get him to join the Communist Party and he wouldn't. I published in 1952 the story of the interview between Lenin and Dr. Pavlov. This is a historical occasion because at this moment in history the science of neurology and the related areas of science became, instead of a therapy to treat human illness, a weapon to confuse the mind and create mental illness.

Dr. Pavlov steadfastly refused to ever join the party, and yet I can show you quotes from him, now that he is dead, attributed to him by the Communist press, saying that he was an ardent believer in communism.

Mr. ARENS. What were the techniques which were employed and are being employed by the Communists to condition the minds with respect to communism?

Mr. WRIGHT. Lenin asked Dr. Pavlov, "Tell me. What makes human nature tick? What makes us behave the way we do?"

So Dr. Pavlov said, "We can talk about the instincts of survival, fear, self-gratification, and so forth."

Then he went through sex and hunger and all the various basic instincts. He later warned that the human animal could not be treated as dogs and laboratory animals because they respond to a secondary nervous signalization.

This gets a little technical but it is worth examining.

Lower animals operate on a primary nervous signalization. They smell, they see, they hear, and so forth. Pavlov warned that you cannot treat men like dogs because they operate with reason, imagination, idealism, and other things. This can be documented out of the texts of Pavlov if the committee is interested. The Communists have, I believe, perpetrated the greatest insult to humanity that has ever been leveled at mankind by any tyrant. They have subverted science in order to treat human beings very much like laboratory animals and dogs.

Mr. ARENS. Do you have other observations to make on the theme which we are exploring today, Mr. Wright?

Mr. WRIGHT. John Dos Passos wrote a book "Most Likely To Succeed," in which he tells the story of a bright young man who is voted most likely to succeed in his class in college and he got out and got into the avant-garde theatrical movement and then got into the Communist Party. Dos Passos described in this book a meeting of a Communist Party cell toward the end of the war.

I would like to read this one paragraph into the record because it describes exactly and authoritatively the master plan of the Communist Party in this area. It is at page 295 of his book, "Most Likely To Succeed":

Communications are the brains and nervous system of the country. * * * That is the importance of our work out here——

meaning in Hollywood——

Mass communication. Motion pictures are the mind of the masses. Through the war effort we move into radio. We eliminate Fascists from the newspaper workers' unions, we install progressives in the writers organizations and the projected author authority. By the time this war is over we shall have captured the brains of the Nation. For the first time we can see emerging the outlines of a Soviet America.

Gentlemen, I have never seen a more succinct statement of the master plan to penetrate the mind and nervous system of the Nation and to bring about this conquest by confusion and corrosion of values. This is it, in my opinion, and I believe Mr. Dos Passos would be able to authenticate this and indicate that it is not entirely fictional. He was way over in left field for many years, as you know.

When he defected, he defected with a bang, but I believe he could authenticate that statement pretty thoroughly.

Now, the degree to which this master plan was carried out has been very hard to determine, but there is an exhibit which does give a measure of the extent to which the Communists got into the wire services, newspaper, magazines, and so forth. This exhibit of the American Newspaper Guild shows how the various newspapers, magazines, and wire services voted at the time they threw the Communists out of control of the Newspaper Guild.

They voted, paper by paper. I won't comment on it other than to say that this is a measure of the extent to which the Communists succeeded in carrying out the master plan for penetrating the communications system, the "brain and nervous system" of the United States.

I should state that your committee has done a very fine job of uncovering the success of that operation in the radio-television field.

Back to art, I think that the distortion and subversion of the images is the way they use art for this business of confusing people.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Wright, you have given us an elemental characterization of the use of art and of communications by the Communists to condition the mind for communism. Do you have, based upon your background and experience, any observations or suggestions to make as to a mode of defense against this aggressive assault by international communism in the field of psychological warfare?

Mr. WRIGHT. I do, sir. I think it is very simple. We must first recognize that we are in a war—a non-hardware, undeclared war. We are in it right now. The way to fight organized confusion is to organize the clarification. This involves making true images and destroying the false images. It means tearing off false labels and calling things by their right names. It means destroying the Iron Curtain.

Mr. ARENS. Would you give us an illustration?

Mr. WRIGHT. In effect, this means tearing down the Curtain. The purpose of the Curtain is to preserve a false image on both sides. The "Utopia" inside the Iron Curtain should be revealed for all its reality, inside and out.

In the free world what is wrong gets in the headlines every day in the paper, and it is very easy to start looking at the things that are wrong and thinking that is the true image of America. Crimes and maladjustments have a way of getting headlines, as you undoubtedly know, and "man bites dog" is the departure from the reality and not the reality itself. The Communists push the false picture, and play down the things that are good.

The way to fight this false image is to preserve the reality of what our forefathers established in this country and with all the things that are wrong with it but a little emphasis on the things that are, by no accidents whatsoever, right about it. It is the hope of the world.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that will conclude the staff interrogation of Mr. Wright.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any questions?

We are indebted, Mr. Wright, to you and to the preceding witness.

It seems to me that the Soviet exhibit in New York is designed to portray a false picture of unhappy life, and the American exhibit in Moscow is designed to portray a false picture of a happy life.

This corresponds one hundred percent to the basic propaganda of the Communist Parties of every country in the world.

Let there be incorporated in the record at the close of this session a statement transmitted to the committee by Representative Thomas M. Pelly of the State of Washington.

The committee will stand adjourned.

(Whereupon, at 11:40 a.m., Wednesday, July 1, 1959, the committee adjourned, subject to the call of the Chair.)

STATEMENT SUBMITTED BY REPRESENTATIVE THOMAS M. PELLY
OF THE STATE OF WASHINGTON

Mr. Chairman, I appreciate having an opportunity to briefly express my views with regard to the paintings presently on display at the American National Exhibition in Moscow and my further views with respect to the significant record of Communist activities and affiliations in connection with the creators of these works of art.

I also wish to commend the House Committee on Un-American Activities for initiating an investigation into this matter.

On the basis of information available to me, I understand that of the 69 artists whose works are on display at this exhibition, 34 have records of affiliation with Communist fronts and causes. Of these 34, 12 appear to have only minor affiliations, which by and large were apparently terminated over 10 years ago, and can be presumed to be of no particular consequence.

The remaining 22, however, approximately one-third of all those whose works have been chosen for exhibition, have a record of significant and continuing affiliation with communistic movements in this country.

Inasmuch as the records of these so-called leaders of American cultural art were available in a matter of minutes in the files of this committee, it is inconceivable to me why these particular individuals were selected. The person or persons in the Department of State and the USIA responsible for the selection of these artists at the very least are guilty of gross negligence and dereliction of duty and I believe should be subjected to the most severe censure and exhaustive investigation.

As I understand it, the purpose of this exhibition is to depict the advance of cultural arts under a free state, and certainly to select and dignify individuals who are dedicated to the overthrow of this Government and to the establishment of a slave state, defeats its own purpose.

My attention has been drawn to the subject matter of one of these paintings in particular. This painting is the work of a man by the name of Jack Levine. A routine check of the committee files indicates that Mr. Levine is associated with at least 21 Communist fronts and causes. This artist has a picture presently on exhibition in Moscow which is entitled "Welcome Home." The picture is the rankest type of satire and depicts a general of our Armed Forces at a banquet table surrounded by persons of obviously questionable character.

This picture in itself is of small moment, but as a symbol for Soviet propaganda it presents a golden opportunity to imply to the Russian people the low regard in which the American people, apparently, hold the leaders of our Armed Forces. I believe that this matter, and this picture in particular, should be brought to the personal attention of the President of the United States, General Eisenhower, and I propose to see that this is accomplished.

Only recently I have had occasion to criticize the personnel policy of the Department of State with regard to the recruitment of employees in so-called "menial" positions in American embassies behind the Iron Curtain.

Here again we encounter individuals in authoritative places in the State Department who persist in defending policies that by no stretch of the imagination can be construed as safeguarding the security of the United States.

I know that this matter has also been a subject of hearings before this committee, and it is not my purpose to belabor this point further at this time, other than to raise the question, Mr. Chairman, as to whether these apparently unrelated problems are not possibly a part and parcel of some sinister master plan, masterminded by another Alger Hiss lurking in the background.

In conclusion, Mr. Chairman, let me again thank you and the members of this committee for permitting me to testify on this subject which I feel is so vital to the security of our country and the continuance of our free way of life.

THE AMERICAN NATIONAL EXHIBITION, MOSCOW, JULY 1959

(The Record Of Certain Artists And An Appraisal Of Their Works
Selected For Display)

WEDNESDAY, JULY 1, 1959

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Washington, D.C.

EXECUTIVE SESSION ¹

The subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities met, pursuant to notice, at 2 p.m., Hon. Francis E. Walter (chairman of the committee) presiding.

Committee members present: Representatives Francis E. Walter of Pennsylvania; Morgan M. Moulder, of Missouri; and August E. Johansen, of Michigan.

Staff members present: Richard Arens, staff director; Francis J. McNamara, research analyst; and Donald T. Appell, investigator.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Shahn, please remain standing while the chairman administers an oath to you.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you swear the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth so help you God?

Mr. SHAHN. Yes, sir.

TESTIMONY OF BEN SHAHN, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, PHILIP WITTENBERG

Mr. ARENS. Please identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation.

Mr. SHAHN. My name is Ben Shahn. My residence is Roosevelt, N.J. My occupation is artist.

Mr. ARENS. You are appearing today in response to a subpoena which was served upon you by this committee?

Mr. SHAHN. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. You are represented by counsel?

Mr. SHAHN. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Counsel, please identify yourself on this record.

Mr. WITTENBERG. Philip Wittenberg, 70 West 40th Street, New York City.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Shahn, where and when were you born?

¹ Released by the committee and ordered to be printed.

Mr. SHAHN. I was born in Kovno, which was then Russia when I was born, on September 12, 1898. It became Lithuania after the First World War and Russia again and Lithuania again. I believe it is Lithuania now.

Mr. ARENS. When did you come to the United States?

Mr. SHAHN. 1906.

Mr. ARENS. Are you a citizen of the United States?

Mr. SHAHN. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. By naturalization or derivation?

Mr. SHAHN. By derivation.

Mr. ARENS. Give us, please sir, a word about your educational background.

Mr. SHAHN. I went through grade school in Brooklyn. At the age of 14 or close to 15, I was apprenticed as a lithographer. I went to night schools and entered New York University. I attended there for a year and then transferred to the College of the City of New York. I quit there and went to the National Academy of Design because this was my major interest.

Mr. ARENS. When did you complete your formal education?

Mr. SHAHN. I didn't complete it.

Mr. ARENS. When was what formal education you did have accomplished?

Mr. SHAHN. I see. The best I can recall exactly?

Mr. ARENS. Roughly speaking, what year?

Mr. SHAHN. I entered New York University in 1919, and the summer of 1920, I was apparently a good student in biology, and I received a scholarship to the Marine Biological Laboratory. I spent the summer there. Then in the fall I transferred to City College because of not having money for tuition at the time for New York University, whereas City College was a free school. I stayed there about a year, I think, and quit and entered the National Academy of Design.

Mr. ARENS. When did you complete your work at the National Academy of Design?

Mr. SHAHN. You don't complete work there.

Mr. ARENS. When did you complete what work you did do?

Mr. SHAHN. I went there till 1922, I think, and continued then in evening courses, whatever was available, evening classes. Then in 1925 I went to Paris to continue my studies there. I went back there again in 1925 and came back in 1926. I went over again in 1928, going to school most of the time and studying at museums, and so forth.

Mr. ARENS. Have you, in addition to your art work, been employed in any other general capacity, any other field other than the field of art?

Mr. SHAHN. Really not. You see I was a lithographer and I was called a lithographic artist and considered myself an artist then.

Mr. ARENS. Have you ever worked for the Federal Government?

Mr. SHAHN. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Where and when, please, sir?

Mr. SHAHN. I worked for the Resettlement Administration from 1935 to 1937. I guess that is correct, till 1937. And later I worked for the Office of War Information.

Mr. ARENS. Over what period of time did you work for the Office of War Information?

Mr. SHAHN. 1942 I came in there, in September or something.

Mr. ARENS. In what capacity?

Mr. SHAHN. I was an artist.

Mr. ARENS. Does that complete the service that you have rendered to the United States Government?

Mr. SHAHN. I think so.

Mr. ARENS. During any time of your employment in the service of the United States Government, did you execute any affidavits or documents relative to membership in the Communist Party as to whether or not you had ever been a member of the Communist Party?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. SHAHN. Well, I will respectfully refuse to answer the question propounded on the ground that the Congress and this committee must exercise its powers subject to the limitations placed by the Constitution of the United States on governmental action and more particularly in the context of this question the relevant limitations of the Bill of Rights.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you understand the question, Mr. Shahn?

Mr. SHAHN. Yes, I understand the question, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, in view of the fact that the witness has not invoked those provisions of the fifth amendment against self-incrimination, I respectfully suggest that the chairman may desire to direct the witness to answer the question.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. You are directed to answer the question. The question refers to an act which, if you performed it, would be a matter of public record.

Mr. SHAHN. I object and my objection is based not only on the fifth amendment but on the relevant limitations of the Bill of Rights.

The CHAIRMAN. Now you invoke the fifth amendment?

Mr. SHAHN. Including the first amendment, the fifth amendment, the ninth and tenth amendments, all contained within the Bill of Rights.

Mr. ARENS. Now, that we may clarify the record, may I ask you the direct categorical question: During any time which you were employed as an official or employee by the United States Government in these employments which you have recounted, were you a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. SHAHN. No, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Had you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. SHAHN. Again I am going to object. I would respectfully again refuse to answer this question propounded on the grounds that the Congress and the committee must exercise its powers subject to the limitations placed by the Constitution of the United States on governmental action, and more particularly in the context of this question the relevant limitation of the Bill of Rights, and also my objection is further based not only on the fifth amendment but on the relevant limitation of the Bill of Rights including the first amendment, the fifth amendment, and the ninth and tenth amendments, all contained within the Bill of Rights, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Just a minute. You say you object to the question. You refuse to answer the question?

Mr. SHAHN. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. When you speak of the fifth amendment, are you invoking those provisions of the fifth amendment which give you a privilege of refusing to answer a question if, in your honest judgment, an answer to that question might give information that can be used against you in a criminal proceeding? In other words, are you invoking those provisions of the fifth amendment against self-incrimination?

Mr. SHAHN. That among others I would like to answer this way: That I respectfully refuse to answer this question propounded on the ground that the Congress and this committee must exercise its powers subject to the limitations placed by the Constitution of the United States on governmental action, more particularly in the context of this question the relevant limitation of the Bill of Rights.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Shahn, have you ever used any name other than the name Shahn, S-h-a-h-n, under which you are appearing today?

Mr. SHAHN. No, sir.

Mr. ARENS. It is the information of this committee, Mr. Shahn, that in February of this year, 1959, a subcommittee of consultants to the Department of State and to the United States Information Agency selected a jury and alternates to the jury to be responsible for the selection of certain paintings and sculpture works to be exhibited in Moscow.

Mr. SHAHN. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. It is further the information of this committee that you were selected as an alternate juror, is that correct?

Mr. SHAHN. No, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Did you have any connection?

Mr. SHAHN. I never had anything of it.

Mr. ARENS. Were you ever connected with the selection of the portraits?

Mr. SHAHN. None whatsoever.

Mr. ARENS. What has been your connection or relationship to the committee which made the selection of portraits to be displayed in Moscow?

Mr. SHAHN. None, than the fact that I have known them as an artist and that they are connected with the arts.

Mr. ARENS. Did you have any conversations with any members of the selection committee?

Mr. SHAHN. No, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Have you received commissions from the Fine Arts Commission?

Mr. SHAHN. Let me see which one it is. I did the murals in the Social Security Building, then called the Social Security Building.

Mr. ARENS. When did you do those?

Mr. SHAHN. This was open competition in 1941. I may be a year off, a year.

Mr. ARENS. Approximately 1941?

Mr. SHAHN. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. At the time that you received the commission to do these murals—

Mr. SHAHN. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Did you execute any statements under oath or otherwise to the United States Government with respect to whether or not you had ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. SHAHN. I would again respectfully refuse to answer the question propounded on the ground that the Congress and this committee must exercise its powers subject to the limitations placed by the Constitution of the United States on governmental action, more particularly in the context of this question relevant limitations of the Bill of Rights and my objection is based not only on the fifth amendment but on the relevant limitation of the Bill of Rights, including the first amendment, the fifth amendment, and the ninth and tenth amendments, all contained within the Bill of Rights.

Mr. ARENS. Did you, Mr. Shahn, ever engage in an artistic endeavor for the purpose of serving the cause of the Communist Party of the United States?

Mr. SHAHN. No, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Did you prepare the Sacco-Vanzetti series, a work of art with respect to the Sacco-Vanzetti case?

Mr. SHAHN. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Did you know at the time that you prepared this work of art that the Sacco-Vanzetti case was a cause celebre of the Communist operation?

Mr. SHAHN. No, sir. I did not.

Mr. ARENS. When you prepared your Sacco-Vanzetti portraits, of the trial of Sacco-Vanzetti, were you a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. SHAHN. No, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Had you broken with the Communist Party?

Mr. SHAHN. Had I what?

Mr. ARENS. Had you broken with the Communist Party?

Mr. SHAHN. My objection is based—I am sorry. I respectfully refuse to answer the question propounded on the grounds that the Congress and this committee must exercise its powers subject to limitations placed by the Constitution of the United States on governmental action and more particularly in the context of this question the relevant limitation of the Bill of Rights.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Shahn, have you contributed your art work for the purpose of raising funds for Communist enterprises?

Mr. SHAHN. Again I must refuse. My refusal to answer this question propounded is on the ground that the Congress and this committee must exercise its powers subject to the limitations placed by the Constitution of the United States on governmental action and more particularly in the context of this question, the relevant limitation of the Bill of Rights.

Mr. ARENS. I display to you now a thermofax reproduction of certain pages from New Masses, April 28, 1942, a notorious Communist publication.

Mr. SHAHN. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. In which New Masses recites:

These are the names of some of the men and women, among them the foremost artists of our land, who contributed their drawings and paintings gratis to New Masses' recent art auction.

Included in the list of these persons is the name Ben Shahn, S-h-a-h-n. Would you kindly look at this exhibit which I have marked "Ben Shahn Exhibit 1" and tell this committee, if you please, sir, whether or not the facts recited there are true and correct to your best recollection?

(Document handed to the witness.)

Mr. SHAHN. Against I must respectfully refuse——

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman—I do not mean to interrupt the witness—except I think the chairman might desire to let the record reflect something like the words, “same objections.” It would be an economy of time, if that is understood.

The CHAIRMAN. Or that “I refuse to answer for the reasons stated.”

Mr. ARENS. It will obviate the necessity for you to read all that language you have been reading here.

Mr. SHAHN. Just beautiful words.

Mr. ARENS. Is that agreeable?

Mr. WITTENBERG. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Would you kindly respond to the question?

Mr. SHAHN. I just refuse to answer on the same ground.

(Document marked “Ben Shahn Exhibit No. 1” and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Shahn, I display to you a thermofax reproduction of an invitation to an exhibition sponsored by the Art Committee of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, which identifies Ben Shahn as an artist whose paintings will be exhibited. Would you kindly look at that exhibit and as you are examining it respond to this question: Were you a member of the Art Committee of this organization?

Mr. SHAHN. No, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Were your paintings to your certain knowledge exhibited with your knowledge and approval by the Art Committee of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship?

Mr. SHAHN. Not that I know of, really.

(Document marked “Ben Shahn Exhibit No. 2” and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. All right, sir.

Now I display to you if you please, sir, a thermofax reproduction of an article in the Daily People's World of California, July 21, 1948, and I invite your attention to the article entitled, “Art exhibit will benefit Spanish refugee appeal.” You will note in the exhibit that the works of Ben Shahn are listed as being exhibited by this organization with your knowledge and consent.

Mr. SHAHN. I know nothing about this, but nothing.

(Document marked “Ben Shahn Exhibit No. 3” and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. All right, sir. I now display to you, if you please, a photostatic reproduction of a copy of a page of the National——

Mr. SHAHN. Just a minute.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. SHAHN. Go ahead, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you want to add anything?

Mr. SHAHN. I would like to add something.

People owned my work, you know. There was a time when I sold my work for \$5, you see, or \$3 or whatever I could get to live on. Very often those people would enter those things in such affairs for benefits and so on without my knowledge whatsoever.

Mr. ARENS. That is adequate explanation for this instance.

Mr. SHAHN. This instance?

Mr. ARENS. If it is a fact to your recollection.

Mr. SHAHN. It is a fact to my knowledge actually.

Mr. ARENS. Now I display to you, if you please, an advertisement in the National Guardian of April 1950, of an art auction listing a number of artists, including Ben Shahn, whose paintings are to be auctioned off. I ask you to kindly look at that advertisement and tell this committee whether or not you have a recollection of the auction and particularly express whether or not you donated your art work for the auction.

Mr. SHAHN. This would be the same situation. I do not remember consciously giving anything to such a thing. At this particular time I began to value my work beyond the auction value of it.

(Document marked "Ben Shahn Exhibit No. 4" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Have you contributed your artwork to the publication Jewish Life, issued by the Morning Freiheit Association?

Mr. SHAHN. No, sir. No, sir, I have not.

Mr. ARENS. I display to you now, if you please—

Mr. SHAHN. Will you understand—may I explain a moment?

Mr. ARENS. Yes, sir.

Mr. SHAHN. I am an artist. I am fairly well known now. Photographs of my work are available through museums, through agencies, and so on. And a writer in any publication can go to a museum or gallery or dealer and ask for a photograph without my knowledge whatsoever, without my consent, and that is all there is to it. From time to time something of mine appears in the book section or magazine section of the New York Times. This is without my knowledge and recently they have begun to pay space rates. They send me a \$10 check when they do that.

Mr. ARENS. Have you contributed your work to Masses and Mainstream, do you recall?

Mr. SHAHN. I did once, sir, yes.

Mr. ARENS. I display to you, if you please, sir, a thermofax copy of the January 1949 issue of Masses and Mainstream.

Mr. SHAHN. Yes. I gave them a batch of photostats. I forget now who asked me for it. I said these things are just casual drawings. You feel free to use them as decorative spots.

Mr. ARENS. Did you know at the time you made the contribution of your art work to Masses and Mainstream that it was a Communist publication?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. SHAHN. Again I am afraid I will have to refuse to answer on the same grounds.

(Document marked "Ben Shahn Exhibit No. 5" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Were these art works which were used by Masses and Mainstream, this Communist publication, solicited from you by a person known by you to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. SHAHN. No, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Did you know persons who were members of the Communist Party to whom you did submit your art work in Masses and Mainstream?

Mr. SHAHN. Again I would refuse to answer on the same grounds, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Have you ever been an instructor in the John Reed Club School of Art?

Mr. SHAHN. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. When were you an instructor in the John Reed Club School of Art?

Mr. SHAHN. It would be 1934 or 1935. I cannot remember exactly. I taught fresco there on a brick wall where fresco was teachable. You need the facilities of a brick wall on which to apply fresco.

Mr. ARENS. What was the John Reed Club School of Art?

Mr. SHAHN. I really don't know because I forget. Someone who was teaching there became sick, and I was asked whether I would take his place.

Mr. ARENS. Who asked you? Do you recall?

Mr. SHAHN. No, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Did you know that the John Reed Club School of Art was a Communist enterprise at the time you were instructing there?

Mr. SHAHN. Again I refuse to answer on the same ground.

Mr. ARENS. I display to you now, if you please, sir, a photostatic reproduction of an article from the Daily Worker of July 6, 1934, with reference to the John Reed Club School of Art in which it is described in this Communist publication as an "institution for the instruction and development of young revolutionary artists," and further characterizations of this kind. Would you kindly look at this article and tell this committee whether or not that characterization in the Communist Daily Worker of the John Reed Club School of Art is to your certain knowledge true and correct?

Mr. SHAHN. I must respectfully refuse to answer it on the ground that the question asked is not pertinent to the subject matter of this investigation.

Mr. ARENS. Is that the only ground?

Mr. SHAHN. And all the other grounds that I previously stated.

(Document marked "Ben Shahn Exhibit No. 6" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Shahn, did you ever belong to the John Reed Club itself?

Mr. SHAHN. No, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Were you ever a member of the National Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions?

Mr. SHAHN. I would refuse to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. Have you loaned your name and prestige as an artist to enterprises on behalf of Communists in the motion picture industry?

Mr. SHAHN. No, sir.

Mr. ARENS. I display to you now, if you please, sir, a thermofax reproduction of an article in the Daily Worker of December 1, 1947, with reference to a number of persons who are listed as signers of an appeal in behalf of the Communists in the motion picture industry and ask you to kindly examine the article and tell this committee whether or not it refreshes your recollection with reference to your participation in that enterprise.

Mr. SHAHN. Again I am afraid I will have to refuse to answer on the same ground.

(Document marked "Ben Shahn Exhibit No. 7" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Have you loaned your prestige as an artist on behalf of the Hollywood Communists whose case was in court, Dalton Trumbo, and others, in an amicus curiae brief?

Mr. SHAHN. Again I refuse to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. I now display to you, please, sir, a thermofax reproduction of a listing of the names of persons on an amicus curiae brief on behalf of certain Communists whose case was pending in the Supreme Court of the United States, including the name of Ben Shahn. Kindly look at this document and tell the committee while you are under oath whether or not it refreshes your recollection with reference to your participation in that enterprise.

Mr. SHAHN. Again I refuse to answer on the same grounds, sir.

(Document marked "Ben Shahn Exhibit No. 8" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. I now display to you still another exhibit. It is a Call to a Bill of Rights Conference to be held in New York City, July 16-17, 1949. Listed, among others, is the name of Ben Shahn, artist, Roosevelt, N.J., as one of the sponsors of this enterprise. Kindly look at this document which I now display to you and tell this committee whether or not it refreshes your recollection with reference to your participation in that enterprise.

Mr. SHAHN. I just refuse to answer on the same grounds, sir.

(Document marked "Ben Shahn Exhibit No. 9" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Did you lend your name to a petition directed to the President of the United States pleading for amnesty for the jailed Communists some few years ago in 1952?

Mr. SHAHN. I am afraid I refuse to answer on the same grounds, sir.

Mr. ARENS. I display to you now an original copy of an article appearing in the Communist Daily Worker listing a number of people who have appealed to the President to grant amnesty to leaders of the Communist Party convicted under the Smith Act. According to the article, the name of Ben Shahn, artist, appears. Kindly look at this document and tell this committee whether or not it refreshes your recollection with reference to your participation in that enterprise.

Mr. SHAHN. I refuse to answer on the same grounds, sir.

(Document marked, "Ben Shahn Exhibit No. 10" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Did you participate in the founding convention of the Progressive Party?

Mr. SHAHN. Again I would refuse to answer on the same ground.

Mr. ARENS. I display to you, if you please, sir, a thermofax copy of a leaflet giving biographical notes on personalities who were participants in the founding convention of the Progressive Party, including, according to this document, Ben Shahn, of Hightstown, N.J., a leading American artist. Kindly look at that document and tell this committee whether or not it refreshes your recollection with reference to your participation in that enterprise.

Mr. SHAHN. I refuse to answer on the same grounds.

(Document marked "Ben Shahn Exhibit No. 11.")

Mr. ARENS. Did you lend your name and your prestige as an artist to the establishment of the Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace to be held in the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in New York City in March of 1949? Do you recall?

Mr. SHAHN. I refuse to answer on the same grounds, sir.

Mr. ARENS. I display to you, if you please, sir, a photostatic reproduction of a leaflet of that organization bearing the name of Ben Shahn as one of the sponsors. Kindly look at this document and tell this committee whether or not that refreshes your recollection.

Mr. SHAHN. I refuse to answer on the same grounds, sir.

(Document marked "Ben Shahn Exhibit No. 12" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Did you know that that conference, the call to which was sponsored by yourself, among others, was condemned by the Government of the United States via the Secretary of State as part and parcel of the international Communist operation?

Mr. SHAHN. I refuse to answer on the same grounds, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Did you lend your name and prestige as an artist to sponsor a peace congress held in Mexico City in 1949 entitled "American Continental Congress for World Peace"?

Mr. SHAHN. I refuse to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. I display, if you please, sir, a thermofax copy of an article from the Daily Worker of July 29, 1949, in which your name appears, among others, as one of the sponsors of that conference to be held in Mexico. Tell this committee whether or not that article refreshes your recollection.

Mr. SHAHN. I repeat, sir, that I refuse to answer on the same grounds.

(Document marked "Ben Shahn Exhibit No. 13" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Did you on October 16, 1958, lend your name and prestige as an artist for the purpose of promoting an advertisement in certain publications calling for a new foreign policy of the United States which would suspend our military defenses, and a number of other policy doctrines with other people? Kindly look at this document and tell this committee whether you loaned your name and prestige as an artist to that enterprise in 1958.

Mr. SHAHN. I refuse to answer, sir, on the same grounds.

(Document marked "Ben Shahn Exhibit No. 14" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I would respectfully suggest that would conclude the staff interrogation of this witness.

Mr. MOULDER. Mr. Chairman, I move that all of the documents submitted by counsel to the witness be admitted in evidence to be appropriately marked in sequence.

The CHAIRMAN. They will be marked and made a part of the record.

Call your next witness, Mr. Arens.

Mr. ARENS. The next witness, Mr. Chairman, will be Philip Evergood.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you raise your right hand, please?

Do you swear the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. EVERGOOD. I do.

The CHAIRMAN. Sit down, please.

**TESTIMONY OF PHILIP EVERGOOD, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL,
PHILIP WITTENBERG**

Mr. ARENS. Please identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation.

Mr. EVERGOOD. Philip Evergood, painter, of Halls Hill Road, Oxford, Conn.

Mr. ARENS. You are appearing today in response to a subpoena which was served upon you by this committee?

Mr. EVERGOOD. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. And you are represented by counsel?

Mr. EVERGOOD. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Counsel, kindly identify yourself.

Mr. WITTENBERG. Philip Wittenberg, 70 West 40th Street, New York City.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Evergood, have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. EVERGOOD. I respectfully refuse to answer the question propounded on the ground that Congress and this committee must exercise its powers subject to the limitations placed by the Constitution of the United States on Government action, more particularly in the context of this question the relevant limitations of the Bill of Rights. My objection is based not only on the fifth amendment but on the relevant limitations of the Bill of Rights including the first amendment, the fifth amendment, and the ninth and tenth amendments, all contained within the Bill of Rights.

Mr. ARENS. You were reading from a prepared statement?

Mr. EVERGOOD. No—prepared statement which my counsel advised me to use.

Mr. ARENS. I am a little bit uncertain, sir, as to whether or not you invoked those provisions of the fifth amendment which give you a privilege of not giving testimony that could incriminate yourself.

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. EVERGOOD. My objection is based—my refusal is based not only on the fifth amendment but on the relevant limitations of the Bill of Rights including the first amendment, the fifth amendment, and the ninth and tenth amendments, all contained within the Bill of Rights.

Mr. ARENS. Are you invoking those provisions of the fifth amendment which give you the privilege of not giving testimony which could be used against yourself.

Mr. EVERGOOD. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. All right, sir. Now, Mr. Evergood, I display to you, if you please, sir, a thermofax copy of an article appearing in the Communist Daily Worker of June 22, 1947, entitled "The Artist Will Not Take a Back Seat" by Philip Evergood, in which this language appears, among other things:

The destruction of the W.P.A. Art Program by the reactionary members of the Congress sparked by the Un-American Committee was the first shot fired in the present Taft-Hartley Bill now on the President's desk. The same slave labor bill for which the Un-American Committee has prepared the grounds, is calculated to create a war hysteria and build up a hatred towards our blood ally and comrade in victory of less than two years ago—the Soviet Union.

It is sickening for those of us whose work was sent on tour to Europe and Latin America to help cement friendly relations, to realize that General Marshall has recalled these good-will exhibitions and that President Truman recently expressed himself in a letter, to the effect that modern art is "silly and useless."

Would you kindly look at this article which I now display to you and tell this committee whether or not you are the author of the article.

Mr. EVERGOOD. I refuse on the same grounds.

(Document marked "Evergood Exhibit No. 1" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. On the date of that article, June 22, 1947, were you then a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. EVERGOOD. I refuse to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. I display to you, if you please, sir, a thermofax copy of an article from the Communist Daily People's World of May 20, 1948, and invite your attention to this article which states that 297 Americans signed a statement protesting the 20th Century-Fox film "Iron Curtain." I invite you attention specifically to the name of Philip Evergood as one of those protesting this film and ask if you signed the protest.

Mr. EVERGOOD. I refuse to answer on the same grounds.

(Document marked "Evergood Exhibit No. 2" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Could you tell this committee while you are under oath who solicited your signature to that protest against this presentation of "Iron Curtain"?

Mr. EVERGOOD. I refuse to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. Did you construe your action in that respect as part of an attempted censorship of a motion picture film?

Mr. EVERGOOD. I refuse to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. Were you at the time you signed that protest against the motion picture "Iron Curtain," then a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. EVERGOOD. I refuse to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. Now, sir, I display to you a thermofax reproduction of an article appearing in the Communist Daily Worker of March 31, 1954, entitled "Political Test for Jobs Denounced By 100 Notables," and included in the 100 notables who signed this article is the name of Philip Evergood. Kindly look at this article and tell this committee whether or not it refreshes your recollection with reference to your participation in protesting what is alluded to in Communist publications as "political test for jobs."

Mr. EVERGOOD. I refuse to answer on the same grounds.

(Document marked "Evergood Exhibit No. 3" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Evergood, I display to you now a photostatic reproduction of an article appearing in the Communist Daily Worker of New York, Wednesday, January 5, 1949, in which the author of the article in this Communist publication is Mr. Philip Evergood.

Kindly look at that article and tell this committee whether or not you are the Philip Evergood who signed that article.

Mr. EVERGOOD. I refuse to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. In the article which I just displayed to you appears the following language:

* * * Little Captain * * * symbolizes the little group of fighting progressives so doomed by Mr. Corwin. The Little Captain amidst the crushing waters of Society radiates a jovial (though perhaps grim) optimism. He intends to fight on and conquer those waves. And his little cockle-shell of a boat remains very much afloat. If Corwin could learn a lesson from my Little Captain painting, he would become less overwhelmed with fears for the downfall of the present batch of progressive painters.

Did you offer those words in the Communist publication?

Mr. EVERGOOD. I refuse to answer on the same grounds.

(Document marked "Evergood Exhibit No. 4" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Were you a member of the Communist Party on the date of this article appearing in the Communist press?

Mr. EVERGOOD. I refuse to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Evergood have you created paintings for the purpose of symbolizing, perpetuating, or advocating a position of the Communist Party of the United States?

Mr. EVERGOOD. I refuse to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. Have you ever taught in the School of Jewish Studies in New York City?

Mr. EVERGOOD. I refuse to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. You know the School of Jewish Studies is a Communist enterprise in New York City, do you not?

Mr. EVERGOOD. I refuse to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. I display to you now, if you please, sir, a thermofax reproduction of a portion of a catalog of the School of Jewish Studies for the Fall Term, 1947, listing a number of sponsors of that school, including Philip Evergood, Artist, and ask you to kindly examine the document which I now display to you and tell this committee whether or not you are the Philip Evergood who is listed there as one of the sponsors of that school.

Mr. EVERGOOD. I refuse to answer on the same grounds.

(Document marked "Evergood Exhibit No. 5" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Have you ever been connected with the Jefferson School of Social Science as an instructor?

Mr. EVERGOOD. I refuse to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. I display to you now a thermofax reproduction of an advertisement appearing in The Communist Daily Worker of September 24, 1948, advertising the Fall Term, 1948 of the Art Workshops of the Jefferson School of Social Science, listing the instructors, including Philip Evergood.

Kindly look at that advertisement and tell this committee whether or not that is a true and correct designation of your status with reference to the Jefferson School of Social Science at that time.

Mr. EVERGOOD. I refuse to answer on the same grounds.

(Document marked "Evergood Exhibit No. 6" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Were you a member of the Communist Party at the time your name was listed in that advertisement as an instructor?

Mr. EVERGOOD. I refuse to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. Have you been an instructor of the Contemporary School of Art?

Mr. EVERGOOD. I refuse to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. I display to you now, if you please, sir, a photostatic reproduction of *The Worker* of September 28, 1947, containing an advertisement of The Contemporary School of Art, and listing the instructors of this institution, including Philip Evergood.

Kindly look at this document and tell this committee while you are under oath whether or not you are the Philip Evergood who is listed there.

Mr. EVERGOOD. I refuse to answer on the same grounds.

(Document marked "Evergood Exhibit No. 7" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Have you ever been a contributing editor to *Masses* and *Mainstream*, a Communist publication?

Mr. EVERGOOD. I refuse to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. I display to you, if you please, sir, a thermofax reproduction of the masthead of *Masses* and *Mainstream* in which Philip Evergood is listed as a contributing editor of that Communist publication.

Kindly look at that document and tell this committee whether or not that listing is true and correct and was with your knowledge and consent.

Mr. EVERGOOD. I refuse to answer on the same grounds, sir.

(Document marked "Evergood Exhibit No. 8" and retained in committee files.)

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Evergood, where were you born?

Mr. EVERGOOD. I was born in New York City, beyond Manhattan in 1901.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Evergood, according to the *Communist Daily Workers*, of April 25 and May 3, 1936—and I am going to display these columns to you in just a moment—you offered some of your paintings for sale and the proceeds went to the Sunnyside Artists' Committee.

Would you kindly look at these articles which I am now displaying to you, the photostatic reproductions of these two *Daily Workers*, and tell this committee whether or not you contributed your art work for sale, the proceeds of which were to go to the Sunnyside Artists' Committee.

Mr. EVERGOOD. I refuse to answer on the same grounds.

(Documents marked "Evergood Exhibit No. 9" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Was Sunnyside Artists' Committee controlled lock, stock, and barrel by the Communist Party?

Mr. EVERGOOD. I refuse to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. I display to you now a thermofax copy of the Communist publication *New Masses*, April 1, 1941, in which, according to the excerpts which we are now laying before you, there is an announcement of an art auction and listing a number of artists who contributed their work to be auctioned off, including Philip Evergood.

Kindly look at this document as I now display it to you and tell this committee whether or not that is a true and correct account of your participation in that enterprise.

Mr. EVERGOOD. I refuse to answer on the same grounds, sir.

(Document marked "Evergood Exhibit No. 10" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Have you contributed your art work to an enterprise known as Art for China?

Mr. EVERGOOD. I refuse to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. To which China was it that you contributed your art work, Free China or Red China?

Mr. EVERGOOD. I refuse to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. I display to you now, if you please, sir, a thermofax reproduction of a document from the China Aid Council in which, according to the document, a number of artists had participated in supplying their art work for this enterprise, "Art for China" Exhibition.

Kindly look at this document and tell this committee while you are under oath if the facts recounted there are true and correct.

Mr. EVERGOOD. I refuse to answer on the same grounds.

(Document marked "Evergood Exhibit No. 11" and retained in committee files.)

The CHAIRMAN. May I see it, Mr. Evergood?

Mr. EVERGOOD. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the date on it? I see.

Mr. ARENS. Now, Mr. Evergood, I display, if you please, sir, a photostatic reproduction of a page from the National Guardian of April 19, 1950, in which an advertisement appears about an art auction under the auspices of the National Guardian, a Communist publication, and listing artists whose work is to be auctioned including the work of Philip Evergood.

Kindly look at that document and tell this committee whether or not that refreshes your recollection with reference to your contribution of art to the auction of the National Guardian.

Mr. EVERGOOD. I refuse to answer on the same grounds, sir.

(Document marked "Evergood Exhibit No. 12" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Have you ever been connected in any capacity with the New York Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions?

Mr. EVERGOOD. I refuse to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. I display to you, if you please, sir, a thermofax reproduction of an announcement by that organization of an art exhibition in which a number of art works are to be displayed, including the art work by yourself, entitled "Dove of Peace" by Philip Evergood.

Kindly look at this document and tell this committee whether or not you consciously and knowingly contributed your art work to that enterprise.

Mr. EVERGOOD. I refuse to answer on the same grounds.

(Document marked "Evergood Exhibit No. 13" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. I display to you now, if you please, sir, a copy of an article from the Daily Worker, of April 9, 1953, announcing the Second Art Show by the American Veterans for Peace. The name of Philip Evergood is listed as one of the participants in that enterprise.

Will you kindly tell this committee while you are under oath whether or not the facts recited in that document are true and correct.

Mr. EVERGOOD. I refuse to answer, sir, on the same grounds.

(Document marked "Evergood Exhibit No. 14" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Have you ever contributed articles to Masses and Mainstream?

Mr. EVERGOOD. I refuse to answer, sir, on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. I display to you now, if you please, sir, a thermofax reproduction of an article in Masses and Mainstream under date of August 1953, entitled "Charles White: Beauty and Strength," by Philip Evergood.

Would you kindly examine this article and tell this committee whether or not it refreshes your recollection with reference to your authorship of it in Masses and Mainstream.

Mr. EVERGOOD. I refuse to answer on the same grounds.

(Document marked "Evergood Exhibit No. 15" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Now, I display to you, if you please, sir, a photostatic reproduction of an advertisement appearing in the The Worker of December 21, 1947, in which there appears a combination offer made by The Worker of prints which are to be made available to people who buy subscriptions to The Worker, prints selected by three artists including Philip Evergood.

Would you kindly look at that advertisement and tell this committee whether or not you selected the prints offered by the Communist Worker to be rewards for people who subscribed to that newspaper.

Mr. EVERGOOD. I refuse to answer, sir, on the same grounds.

(Document marked "Evergood Exhibit No. 16" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Have you ever been president of the Artists' Union of New York?

Mr. EVERGOOD. I refuse to answer on the same grounds.

The CHAIRMAN. Just a minute. What is the Artists' Union?

Mr. ARENS. Please tell the committee what is the Artists' Union of New York.

Mr. EVERGOOD. I refuse to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. Were you a member of the Communist Party when you were president of the Artists' Union of New York?

Mr. EVERGOOD. I refuse to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. I display to you now a photostatic reproduction of an article in the December 28, 1937, issue of New Masses, a Communist publication, containing a caricature of yourself under which appears the words "Philip Evergood, President of the Artists' Union of N.Y."

Kindly look at the document which I now display to you and tell this committee whether or not that is a true and correct designation of yourself on that date.

Mr. EVERGOOD. I refuse to answer on the same grounds.

(Document marked "Evergood Exhibit No. 17" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Are you, or have you ever been, a member of the Artists Equity Association?

Mr. EVERGOOD. I refuse to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. Now, Mr. Evergood, I display to you an article from the Communist Daily Worker of April 22, 1947, which identifies yourself as protesting the revocation of the charter of the Queens College chapter of American Youth for Democracy.

Kindly look at that document and tell this committee whether or not your recollection is refreshed and you can remember protesting the revocation of the charter of the Queens College chapter of the American Youth for Democracy.

Mr. EVERGOOD. I refuse to answer on the same grounds.

(Document marked "Evergood Exhibit No. 18" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Were you a member of the Communist Party at the time that you protested the revocation of the chapter of American Youth for Democracy?

Mr. EVERGOOD. I refuse to answer on the same grounds, sir.

Mr. ARENS. I display to you, sir, a copy of an advertisement appearing in the Communist Daily Worker of April 29, 1948, and containing the names of several persons as sponsors of a rally entitled "Culture Against the Warmakers" in which your name appears as one of the sponsors.

Kindly look at this document and tell this committee whether or not you sponsored the enterprise known as "Culture Against the Warmakers."

Mr. EVERGOOD. I refuse to answer, sir, on the same grounds.

(Document marked "Evergood Exhibit No. 19" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Could culture be used as a weapon in obtaining political objectives?

Mr. EVERGOOD. I refuse to answer on the same grounds.

The CHAIRMAN. May I see that?

Mr. EVERGOOD. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Evergood, have you ever sponsored the Communist Party May Day celebrations?

Mr. EVERGOOD. I refuse to answer, sir, on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. I lay before you now, if you please, sir, several thermofax reproductions of news articles showing yourself as a sponsor of Communist Party May Day celebrations for the years 1947 and 1948.

Mr. EVERGOOD. I refuse to answer, sir, on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know or have you known Gerhart Eisler?

Mr. EVERGOOD. I refuse to answer, sir, on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. What, if anything, have you ever done on behalf of Gerhart Eisler?

Mr. EVERGOOD. I refuse to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. Have you loaned your name as an artist on behalf of Mr. Gerhart Eisler?

Mr. EVERGOOD. I refuse to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. Did you protest the exposure of Gerhart Eisler as a Soviet agent in the Communist Daily Worker of February 28, 1947, a copy of which I now hand to you?

Mr. EVERGOOD. I refuse to answer on the same grounds.

(Document marked "Evergood Exhibit No. 20" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Have you ever been a sponsor of the Committee for Free Political Advocacy?

Mr. EVERGOOD. I refuse to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. I lay before you now, if you please, sir, a thermofax reproduction of an advertisement from the New Republic of March 28, 1949, issued by The Committee for Free Political Advocacy, and ask you if you are the Philip Evergood listed as a sponsor of that enterprise.

Mr. EVERGOOD. I refuse to answer on the same grounds.

(Document marked "Evergood Exhibit No. 21" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. I show you a copy of an article appearing in the Communist Daily Worker of October 25, 1949, in which, according to the article, a number of notables ask McGrath, then Attorney General of the United States, to arrange for reasonable bail for the 11 Communist Party leaders who were convicted in Foley Square. Among the notables so listed is Philip Evergood.

Did you consciously lend your name to that enterprise?

Mr. EVERGOOD. I refuse to answer, sir, on the same grounds.

(Document marked "Evergood Exhibit No. 22" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Now, Mr. Evergood, I display to you, if you please, sir, a copy of an article from the Communist Daily Worker, December 10, 1952, listing Philip Evergood as one of a number of persons requesting President Truman to give amnesty to the jailed Communists.

Would you kindly look at that article and tell this committee whether or not you consciously loaned your name to that enterprise.

Mr. EVERGOOD. I refuse to answer on the same grounds.

(Document marked "Evergood Exhibit No. 23" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. I display to you now a copy of an article from the Communist Daily Worker of September 19, 1955, listing Philip Evergood, among others, as urging the severance of Marion Bachrach from prosecution under the Smith Act, as a Communist.

Kindly tell this committee whether or not you consciously loaned your name to that enterprise.

Mr. EVERGOOD. I refuse to answer under the same grounds.

(Document marked "Evergood Exhibit No. 24" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Did you know Marion Bachrach?

Mr. EVERGOOD. I refuse to answer under the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. Were you a member of the Communist Party at that time?

Mr. EVERGOOD. I refuse to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. I display to you, if you please, sir, a handbill announcing a theater rally to secure clemency for the Rosenbergs in which your name appears as one of the sponsors of that enterprise.

Kindly look at that document and tell us whether or not that refreshes your recollection with reference to participation in that enterprise.

Mr. EVERGOOD. I refuse to answer on the same grounds.

(Document marked "Evergood Exhibit No. 25" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Did you know Simon W. Gerson as a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. EVERGOOD. I refuse to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. I display to you, if you please, sir, a photostatic copy of a letterhead of the "Citizens Committee for the Election of Simon W. Gerson," October 5, 1948, listing a number of persons as members of the provisional committee of this organization, and who are urging the election of Simon W. Gerson in New York City—Simon W. Gerson, having, of course, been repeatedly identified as a member of the Communist Party. Kindly look at that letterhead and tell this committee whether or not you knowingly assented to having your name used as a promoter of that enterprise.

Mr. EVERGOOD. I refuse to answer on the same grounds.

(Document marked "Evergood Exhibit No. 26" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Now, I display to you, if you please, sir, a thermofax reproduction of an article appearing in the Communist Daily Worker of July 8, 1953, which sets forth the names of several notables, including Philip Evergood, who assailed the Justice Department's move to have the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born register with the Subversive Activities Control Board as a Communist front organization.

I ask you now, sir, while you are under oath, whether or not you have recollection of loaning your name and prestige as an artist to that enterprise.

Mr. EVERGOOD. I refuse to answer, sir, on the same grounds.

(Document marked "Evergood Exhibit No. 27" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Now, I display to you, if you please, sir, a thermofax reproduction of an article appearing in PM magazine, under date of May 3, 1948, stating that the Literary Gazette, published in Moscow, printed an open letter from 32 American writers, painters, and composers to the effect that the Americans are squarely on the side of the Soviet Union in opposition to the then-current United States leadership and policies.

Kindly look at that article and tell this committee while you are under oath whether or not you consciously, knowingly loaned your name as an American artist to that enterprise.

Mr. EVERGOOD. I refuse to answer on the same grounds.

(Document marked "Evergood Exhibit No. 28" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Thereafter, Mr. Evergood, the New York Times of May 24, 1948, contained a letter to the editor which was a defense by the 32 writers, painters, and composers for their open letter which appeared in the Moscow Literary Gazette. In that document, as part of the explanation of this group appears the following:

Far from aligning ourselves against America, we spoke against a policy which by-passes the United Nations, supports Greek Fascists as well as Chinese and Arab feudal lords, and draws our country toward war. We are deeply concerned about the campaign to suppress freedom of thought and expression, and we assert that the real threat to American democracy arises from such measures as the Mundt Bill and from its sponsors.

Kindly look at this document and tell this committee while you are under oath whether or not you knowingly and consciously loaned your name as an American artist to that enterprise.

Mr. EVERGOOD. I refuse to answer on the same grounds.

(Document marked "Evergood Exhibit No. 29" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Now, I display to you, sir, a photostatic copy of a document entitled "American People's Meeting," to be held in New York City, April 5, 1941, for the purpose of organizing a peace march on Washington. A number of people are listed here as sponsors of the American Peace Mobilization including Philip Evergood.

Kindly look at this document which I now display to you and tell this committee while you are under oath whether or not you knowingly and consciously, as an American artist, loaned your name to that enterprise.

Mr. EVERGOOD. I refuse to answer on the same grounds.

(Document marked "Evergood Exhibit No. 30" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. The time of that enterprise which I have just called to your attention in this document was at the time of the Hitler-Stalin Pact. Is that not correct?

Mr. EVERGOOD. I refuse to answer on the same ground, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Evergood, I display to you a photostatic reproduction of a program of the Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace to be held at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in New York, in 1949. A number of persons issued this call to action and are sponsors of this enterprise, according to this document, including Philip Evergood.

Kindly look at this document and tell this committee whether or not you have a recollection of loaning your name and prestige to that enterprise.

Mr. EVERGOOD. I refuse to answer, sir, on the same grounds.

(Document marked "Evergood Exhibit No. 31," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. According to the New York Times article of March 28, 1949, the original of which I now display to you, Philip Evergood, an American painter and first speaker of the morning panel, castigated the State Department for canceling an exhibition of American art to be shown in Europe and South America last year on the ground it contained un-American themes, and the like.

Would you kindly tell this committee whether or not this is a true and correct account in the New York Times of your address in which you castigated the State Department for canceling this art exhibition that was to be displayed in the South American countries.

Mr. EVERGOOD. I refuse to answer on the same ground.

(Document marked "Evergood Exhibit No. 32," and retained in committee files.)

The CHAIRMAN. When was this?

Mr. EVERGOOD. March 28, 1949, it says.

Mr. ARENS. To your certain knowledge, did the State Department cancel an exhibition of art which was to be circulated in South America?

Mr. EVERGOOD. I refuse to answer, sir, on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. Was your art work to be displayed then?

Mr. EVERGOOD. I refuse to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. At the time when you made this speech castigating the State Department for canceling this art exhibition to be displayed in South America, were you then a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. EVERGOOD. I refuse to answer, sir, on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. I display to you, if you please, sir, a thermofax reproduction of Greetings from American Sponsors to the World Congress for Peace to be held in Paris in April of 1949 in which a number of people, including Philip Evergood, are sponsors.

Kindly look at this exhibit and tell this committee, while you are under oath, whether or not that refreshes your recollection with reference to that enterprise.

Mr. EVERGOOD. I refuse to answer on the same grounds, sir.

(Document marked "Evergood Exhibit No. 33," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. That particular conference was the conference at which Paul Robeson was one of the leading participants and at which he said the Negroes would not fight against the Soviet Union in the event of war; isn't that correct?

Mr. EVERGOOD. I refuse to answer, sir, on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. Did you attend the conference in Paris?

Mr. EVERGOOD. I refuse to answer, sir, on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. Have you ever applied for a United States passport?

Mr. EVERGOOD. I refuse to answer, sir, on the same ground.

Mr. ARENS. Have you ever been abroad?

Mr. EVERGOOD. I refuse to answer on the same grounds, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I direct you to answer that question, Mr Evergood. Have you ever been abroad?

Mr. EVERGOOD. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. When?

Mr. EVERGOOD. I have been abroad several times. I went to school in England. I studied at the Slade School in London.

Mr. ARENS. When were you last abroad?

Mr. EVERGOOD. In 1931.

Mr. ARENS. What was the occasion for your trip?

Mr. EVERGOOD. Excuse me, I may have made a mistake. It may have been 1930.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all right.

Mr. ARENS. What was the occasion for your trip abroad in 1930?

Mr. EVERGOOD. To study.

Mr. ARENS. Were you then a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. EVERGOOD. I refuse to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. I display to you, sir, a thermofax reproduction of a Call to the American Continental Congress for Peace held in Mexico City in September 1949. A number of persons issued this call, including Philip Evergood.

Kindly look at that document and tell this committee, while you are under oath, whether or not it is a true and correct account of your participation in that enterprise.

Mr. EVERGOOD. I refuse to answer on the same grounds.

(Document marked "Evergood Exhibit No. 34," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Now, I display to you, sir, a thermofax reproduction of an article appearing Aug. 7, 1950, in the Communist Daily Worker in which, according to the article, a number of notables urge a course of action by the United States and U.S.S.R. on the Korean war. Among these notables listed here is Philip Evergood urging this particular course of action.

Kindly look at that document and tell this committee whether or not it is a true and correct account of your participation in that enterprise.

Mr. EVERGOOD. I refuse to answer, sir, on the same grounds.

(Document marked "Evergood Exhibit No. 35," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Now, I show you a photostatic reproduction of a statement, on the letterhead of the National Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions, to the Members of the 81st Congress on the Committee on Un-American Activities, attacking the Committee on Un-American Activities.

Among those listed on the letterhead as members-at-large of this organization is Philip Evergood.

Kindly look at this document and tell this committee whether or not that is a true and correct listing of yourself and your status with that organization.

Mr. EVERGOOD. I refuse to answer on the same grounds, sir.

(Document marked "Evergood Exhibit No. 36," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Are you now a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. EVERGOOD. I refuse to answer on the same grounds, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that will conclude the staff interrogation of this witness.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Evergood, do you know the members of the jury who selected the works of art that were to be sent abroad?

Mr. EVERGOOD. Not all of them, sir. I know in the course of my being an artist one runs into them, one meets them, but one is not good friends of them particularly. For instance, I have met Mr. Lloyd Goodrich, because Mrs. Post and the presiding heads of the Whitney Museum, before he became director, used to invite my work there and I met him in a more or less casual way on several occasions.

The sculpture member, Mr. Roszak, I met at the openings of the Whitney Museum and had been introduced to him, but nothing more. I forget who else were on that committee.

Mr. McNAMARA. Mr. Watkins.

Mr. EVERGOOD. Mr. Watkins I have also met.

Mr. WITTENBERG. I do not want you to answer these questions. Find out who is asking the questions.

The CHAIRMAN. He is answering the question that the chairman asked.

Mr. WITTENBERG. I know that, sir, but I just did not know who volunteered that question.

The CHAIRMAN. We will not ask any more questions.

Any questions, Mr. Moulder?

Mr. MOULDER. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Johansen?

Mr. JOHANSEN. No.

The CHAIRMAN. All right, proceed Mr. Arens.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, that was all the questions we had to ask of this witness.

I would respectfully request that there be an order in this record excusing from appearance Minna R. Harkavy who is under subpoena. A doctor's certificate has been submitted in this case indicating, because of her physical condition, she could not possibly come here.

That will be all.

Mr. MOULDER. Mr. Chairman, I do have a question.

One of your paintings which bears the title of "Street Corner" was selected by the jury referred to in your testimony for exhibition at the showing at the American National Exhibition in Moscow this summer.

Mr. EVERGOOD. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOULDER. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Where is that street corner?

Mr. EVERGOOD. Where is it now, sir?

The CHAIRMAN. No. What street corner is it?

Mr. EVERGOOD. It was a street corner in Harlem that I happened to see, a group of people walking around and a girl on roller skates and a little barber shop with a hole cut in.

The CHAIRMAN. I know what is in the picture, I just wondered where the street corner was.

Mr. EVERGOOD. No particular street corner.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Evergood, have you knowingly and consciously used your art for the purpose of furthering the objectives of the Communist Party of the United States?

Mr. EVERGOOD. I refuse to answer, sir.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Mr. Chairman, may I make the same request that was made by my colleague on the previous witness that these documents be introduced into evidence?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. They will be introduced in evidence and appropriately marked and retained in the files of the committee.

All right, gentlemen, you are excused.

The CHAIRMAN. Have we anything else?

Mr. ARENS. Nothing more today. Perhaps the committee would want to deliberate here for a moment.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

(Whereupon, at 3:25 p.m., Wednesday, July 1, 1959, the committee proceeded to other business.)

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